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THE DICKENSIAN

EDITED BY LESLIE C. STAPLES

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE FOR DICKENS LOVERS

CONTENTS

AFTER MANY DAYS
J. H. McNulty

DICKENSIAN BIOGRAPHY FROM FORSTER TO THE PRESENT DAY
T. W. Hill

THE FELLOWSHIP IN RETROSPECT
A. W. Edwards

JIM CROW AND BOZ'S JUBA
Malcolm Morley

MY FAVOURITE WOMAN CHARACTER
F. A. Postlethwaite

SIDE-LIGHT ON A GREAT FRIENDSHIP

AND OTHER ARTICLES

ILLUSTRATED

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
When Found—The Editor	3
After Many Days—J. H. McNulty	6
Bernard Shaw—The Editor	9
Dickensian Biography—T. W. Hill	10
Sidelight on a Great Friendship—The Editor	16
The Fellowship in Retrospect—A. W. Edwards	22
Dickens House Endowment Fund	27
Jim Crow and Boz's Juba—Malcolm Morley	28
The Composition of *David Copperfield*—John Butt	33
My Favourite Woman Character—F. A. Postlethwaite	39
Notes on *Sketches by Boz*—T. W. Hill	41
Mr. John Garraway's "Precious Comedy"	49
From Recent Books—Louis B. Frewer	51
The Dickens Fellowship	54
Balance Sheets 1949	55

WALTER T. SPENCER

(M. E. SPENCER)

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1836 . . . the dawn of an epoch. The Hanoverian Period, with its background of plot and intrigue, was drawing to a close; in London a girl who was to be Queen and Empress was still close-guarded at Kensington Palace. But the railway, herald of the industrial revolution, had already arrived and, in 1836, the Westminster Bank was founded to provide the banking service which the new era required and from that date onwards the Bank has continued to serve the needs of both industry and the individual.

WESTMINSTER BANK LIMITED

"Standing before the dressing-glass was a middled-aged lady in yellow curl-papers, busily engaged in brushing what ladies call their 'back-hair.'"

Mr. Pickwick . . . John Greaves

Photographed by Brian Greaves

THE DICKENSIAN

WINTER NUMBER

VOL. XLVII. DECEMBER 1950 No. 297

WHEN FOUND—

To Dickensians in all corners of the homeland. To those in city or settlement in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States or wherever they may be, we send our warmest Christmas Greetings.

"Happy, happy Christmas, that can win us back to the delusion of our childish days; can recall to the old man the pleasures of his youth; that can transport the sailor and the traveller thousands of miles away, back to his own fireside and his quiet home."

Pickwick Papers.

* * * * *

A. W. Edwards and the Fellowship. Readers will be pleased to find in the present number the first part of a contribution from the pen of Mr. A. W. Edwards. It is a continuation, written at the Editor's request, of the late Walter Dexter's articles, "The Fellowship in Retrospect," that appeared six years ago and is assured of a welcome from all who cherish a memory of Mr. Edwards's share in our history, care for our welfare, and his devoted services as Hon. Secretary from 1925 to 1936.

* * * * *

A splendid gift. The collections at the Dickens House have again been enriched by the generosity of Mr. William A. Clark, F.R.P.S., who has just presented to the library his complete subscription copy of the Nonesuch Edition of Dickens's works. Only recently Mr. Clark presented to the House a series of his wonderful photographic studies of Dickens's London.

* * * * *

Broadstairs Dickens Festival. Another resounding success has to be recorded of this year's Dickens Festival at Broadstairs. Events were spread over four days, most of which were favoured with brilliant autumn sunshine. There were four-in-hand coach drives in the vicinity, motor-coach excursions to places further afield, a delightfully entertaining afternoon by Mr. Herbert Balsom, and Dickens House, once the home of the original of Betsey Trotwood, was open to the public. Each evening there was a performance of a new dramatic adaptation of *Bleak House*, by Gladys Waterer, which drew crowded audiences to the Playhouse. Once again Miss Waterer supplied a text which flowed as smoothly as an original play and clearly told the story of the principal characters of the book in only three settings. To do this from so complex a novel as *Bleak House* is a striking achievement and the gifted dramatist is greatly to be congratulated. Mr. James Leach, the producer, secured admirable performances from the large cast, the enthusiasm and efficiency of which provided a great deal of capital acting.

Edwin Drood. A new edition of *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (John Lehmann, 8*s*. 6*d*.) is to be highly commended. A volume in The Chiltern Library, it is well bound, has the original illustrations, a facsimile of Collins's wrapper and includes an introduction by Michael Innes that the newcomer to the mystery will find most helpful and the confirmed " Droodist " very stimulating.

* * * * *

American edition. We have received copies of two Dickens novels, specimens of the " Modern Library, College Editions," published by Random House Inc. of New York (65 cents). The volumes are well printed, light to handle and well bound in durable limp wrappers. *A Tale of Two Cities* contains a first-class introduction by Professor Edward Wagenknecht of Boston University, to whom no Dickensian will need an introduction. The history of the novel and its place in English Literature is admirably and freshly treated ; a most valuable contribution to its subject. The introduction to *David Copperfield* is by E. K. Brown of the University of Chicago.

* * * * *

Cat among the Pigeons. What will all the searchers for originals of Dickens's characters say to the most recent contribution to that aspect of his work ? In *Notes and Queries* of July 20th, Mr. E. O. Winstedt suggests that many of the characteristics with which Dickens endows Helena Landless are drawn from the murderess Constance Kent, who was a secretive recalcitrant child nursing a grievance against her stepmother, ran away in 1860 with her half-brother at the age of twelve dressed as a boy, withstood a searching cross-examination by a magistrate at the inquest after she had murdered the little fellow, and not till 1865 by which time she had been tamed by the influence of a parson, confessed to the crime, was tried and finally reprieved.

* * * * *

The Canadian flood disaster. Following the action taken after the resolution passed by Conference at St. Annes, the following letter from Mrs. D. G. Sutherland, Hon. Secrerary of the Winnipeg Branch, has been received in London :

" Owing to the flood our Council meeting was postponed, but your exceedingly kind letter of sympathy was read when we met this month. The members were indeed gratified to hear of this splendid gift of £25 donated at the Dickens Fellowship Conference for the relief of the flood sufferers of this city. Such a tangible show of Fellowship was received with gratitude and pride, it was strong evidence that we are indeed members of one body. Members of our Branch suffered great damage to their homes and property, but the spirit of Mark Tapley was in evidence right through the ordeal. Will you please express our thanks to all those who so very kindly thought of us in our hour of tribulation. Our first general meeting of the coming season is to be held on October 19th and it is the wish of the Council that your letter be read then so that all of the members may know of the sympathy and generosity sent to us from the Mother Country."

* * * * *

Rochester's " Dickens Preservation Fund." With the passage of time and the exigencies of modern life and modern business, it is inevitable that the many Rochester buildings and features of buildings with Dickensian associations should have gradually become fewer, but in order to try and prevent any further losses the Rochester Branch of the Dickens Fellowship is preparing an inventory of all such buildings in the immediate neighbourhood and will then approach the owners with a view to obtaining undertakings that

the Branch will be consulted if any building alterations are to be carried out. Realising that in some cases the preservation of the Dickens association may well involve the owner in extra expenditure which he is not prepared to meet, the Rochester Branch has opened a special fund which is to be known as the Dickens Preservation Fund. One source of revenue for this Fund is the suggestion that a donation be requested from any visiting party that is provided with a guide from among the Fellowship members. The Hon. Secretary, Mr. Frederick Baines, has several schemes in preparation for swelling this important fund. The first of these has already come to fruition; an attractive booklet, *Where Dickens Walked*, is on sale in Rochester at one shilling. It is an admirable guide and souvenir for the Dickensian visitor to the city. The many photographs are excellent and beautifully reproduced. The profits will go to the Fund.

* * * * *

Enid Hawksley We greatly regret to announce the death of Mrs. Ernest Bouchier Hawksley which occurred on November 7th, after a long illness. Mrs. Hawksley was the eldest daughter of the late Sir Henry Fielding Dickens, K.C. She lectured on her illustrious grandfather in America and only last year published an admirable *Dickens Birthday Book*. She leaves two sons and a daughter, to whom the Fellowship extends its deepest sympathy.

* * * * *

Baroness Burdett-Coutts. Dickens letters to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, numbering five hundred and fifty, only a few of which have been published, were sold for $3,000 at the Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, on November 3rd. They had formed part of the collection of the late Oliver R. Barrett, of Kenilworth, Ill. The purchaser is the Carnegie Bookshop of New York.

* * * * *

On the Air. The new work selected by the B.B.C. for serial presentation on Sunday evenings is *Our Mutual Friend*. The story is not yet sufficiently far advanced to warrant comment. On October 28th, in the series "Saturday Night Theatre," there was given a radio adaptation of *A Tale of Two Cities*, which had been arranged from the play by Terence Rattigan and John Gielgud. As a radio play it was very successful. A fine performance of Sidney Carton was given by Eric Portman. The opinion may possibly be permitted that the radio version gives little indication of the quality of the stage version.

* * * * *

A Great Dickens Pageant. Those who remember the beautiful historical pageant given at Rochester in 1931 will be glad to know that another is to be presented for a week on the same site in July next, but on this occasion it is to be drawn entirely from Dickens. Hundreds of performers will be employed, and a series of episodes from the novels will be unfolded before large stands facing the Castle Keep. Elaborate transport and catering facilities are being planned and advance information may be obtained from the Pageant Office at the Guildhall. Further details will appear in our March Number.

* * * * *

A Request Readers at home and overseas are invited to send to the editor newspaper, or magazine, articles or cuttings, having reference to the life or work of Dickens. They would be most gratefully received.

LESLIE C. STAPLES.

After Many Days

Yet once more,—Milton.

By J. H. McNULTY

IT was bitterly cold and the whole country was in the grip of a severe frost. The dull, grey sky robbed the scene of that touch of brightness which sunshine on snow can give to the most dreary landscape. In some parts of the country there might be clear skies which let the sun through, but it was not so in London where day after day a cloudy sky and a biting north-east wind made life almost unbearable.

For the first time in his life Mr. Pickwick felt dissatisfied with London and wished to escape from the famous city. Thoughts of spending the winter abroad passed through his mind, South of France, or somewhere, he didn't know where. Was he growing old or was it the unusually cold weather and this early winter ? He wondered.

But a few days later he and his friends were on the road to Kent, to spend Christmas with Wardle and his family at Manor Farm, in the village with a name like a small chime of bells. On the way down the sun broke through the clouds, and the pale blue sky, shining between the brown leafless branches, looked as beautiful with its delicate colours as anything that summer or autumn can show.

These visits had taken place for many years, a series of memorable gatherings of friends on the day above all when friends should meet. On Christmas Eve, according to the customary ritual, they spent the evening sitting round the fire, telling old stories or reciting verses till midnight. The room in which they were gathered was profusely decorated with holly, ivy and mistletoe, making as it were, a miniature forest, bathed in the winter sunshine of the firelight, in these surroundings made all the more pleasant by the cold without and the rising wind which was moaning and roaring round the house, Wardle led the way with a story. " This," he said, " is the sequel to a story told many years ago. It is called

THE BAGMAN'S STORY

One winter's evening just as it was growing dark a man driving a large and luxurious motor car might have been seen crossing Marlborough Downs, on a road in the direction of Bristol. He might have been seen, if there had been anyone there to see him, but Marlborough Downs on a winter's evening, with rain falling, driven by a fierce north-east wind, is not a place to delay or to watch a motorist in difficulty, and the unpleasantness of the evening threatened to be increased by the driving rain turning to snow ; snow was even now mingling with the rain.

The driver was at the moment engaged in an argument with the car, which obstinately refused to move. The driver, Sir Thomas Smart Bart., M.P., had only himself to blame for his dilemma, for he could have brought his chauffeur with him, but he enjoyed driving himself The enjoyment, however, to-night was missing, and he cursed his car for breaking down, and his own folly for driving alone, or for not postponing his journey and rather unpleasant errand to a more seasonable time. After tinkering with the car for some time, getting colder and wetter as rain and snow drenched him, he rose and scanned the road for any light which might announce another traveller like himself benighted on these desolate Downs, but no light was visible, and a

length in desperation he crawled under the obstinate machine, and from that uncomfortable position, lying in the slush and mud of the road, tried to find the cause of the stoppage, but his efforts were of no avail. At length he resumed his upright position, and after some more pulling and pushing at various knobs and handles the car unexpectedly began to move, and slowly he proceeded on his journey.

At length he reached his destination, an inn on the side of the way about a quarter of a mile from the end of the Downs on the road to Bristol. The building was brilliantly lighted, and a stream of light pierced the prevailing gloom. This Inn belonged to him, and he and his Firm owned a number of Public Houses in the neighbourhood; this one had been the beginning of his fortunes. It had been a possession of his and his Firm for about fifty years, but their purchases of liquor had been diminishing for several years, and he was determined to call on his tenants and give them notice to quit. He knew they might have some difficulty in finding another house, but that was their affair. His business was to see that a profit was made and this he intended to do.

He arrived at the inn wet and uncomfortable, but with his resolution unblunted and his irritation and temper not improved, but at the moment the icy rain and snow which covered him, and his general condition cried out for relief. Having seen his car safely housed he entered the inn and called for drinks.

"What's the best thing to drink on a night like this?" asked Sir Thomas of the waiter, "I'm perished with cold."

"I should recommend hot punch," answered the waiter, "It's our own make."

"Yes, certainly," replied Sir Thomas.

A glass of punch piping hot, and sending forth a very pleasant and appetising odour was placed before him.

He drank it up and asked for another, and then for a third.

"I think it's time to get ready for dinner, and my appetite is all the keener now, after your excellent drink has put new life into me. What have you for dinner?" he asked.

"Soup, roast chicken and plum pudding" answered the waiter.

"That'll do for me," replied Sir Thomas.

After spending a short time in his room washing and making some changes in his rain-sodden garments, he reappeared in the dining room. The food was good. Thick and satisfying soup was followed by chicken with the usual trimmings, and then a very rich and spicy pudding.

"What will you drink, Sir?" asked the waiter.

"Punch," said Sir Thomas. "I know it's the wrong thing to drink with dinner, but it's certainly the right thing on a night like this."

As he spoke a fierce gust of wind beat on the window-pane, bringing with it a deluge of sleet, rain and snow.

Having finished his meal, he sat down before the fire, picked up yesterday's paper which contained nothing of importance. News becomes stale quicker than anything. If food kept fresh no longer than news, refrigerators would be no luxury but a necessity. For a while he read and dozed, and then with some more of the excellent punch, which seemed to contain all the finest perfumes of spice and flowers, he went up to his room. He was feeling very drowsy but thoroughly content with himself and all the world. The buffeting he had received from wind and weather seemed to increase his present comfort, and the reason of his visit had completely passed from his mind. He sat down before the fire and watched the shadows on the walls, becoming every moment more and more drowsy. After dropping asleep several times and falling towards the fire, he made one great

effort, undressed and got into bed. It was an old-fashioned bed with curtains to keep out the draught, but which did not obscure the view of the room. And this was well, for the furniture of the room was old and peculiar, and, to him, full of a quaintness which fascinated him. There were many old chairs in the room, and one particularly ancient one. This chair held his attention. He could not tell why. It was a strange grim-looking, high-backed chair, incredibly old. Its age was the most remarkable thing about it. It had once had a cushion, he thought, but there was no cushion now, and the legs of the chair ended in great knobs as if it had gout. It was a picture not of beauty but of extreme old age, and in the flickering firelight it appeared to wink. Sir Thomas rubbed his eyes, for they, too, were winking, winking with sleep.

"I wonder how old it really is," he thought.

"Far older than you think," said the chair, which now bore the form and features of an old man. "Yes, I know you are Sir Thomas Smart, Bart., M.P., but I'm going to call you Tom. I know a lot about you, Tom."

"How do you know my name, and why do you call me Tom as if you had known me all my life?"

"I have known you all your life, and I knew some of your ancestors too."

Then the chair began grinning, grinning so much that its nose and chin nearly met.

"How do you know my name, nutcracker face?" he repeated.

He wanted to say Casse-noisette, for he loved that very pleasant and over-sweet music, and thought himself a bit of a highbrow in consequence.

"I've known you all your life, Tom, and I met your great-grandfather in this room. And I know why you've come here to-night. Do you think you're doing a very kind thing?"

"If you know so much about me you must know that the business of this house is in a very bad way. Their takings are dwindling and their purchases of liquor from us who own the house have sunk to a very low level. I must get new tenants who can increase their purchases."

"Don't you know, Tom, that this is the first House you and your forbears ever owned, and that here began your fortunes. You're very rich, Tom."

"Yes, I may be," he answered, "but I shan't be so much longer if I let my tenants carry on a losing business, and only buy a dwindling amount of liquor from our firm."

"Didn't you have a good dinner to-night, Tom, and didn't you enjoy that excellent punch of which I fancy you drank rather too much?"

Sir Thomas felt rather abashed at this gentle reprimand, and he replied in a humbler tone.

"Yes, it was a very good dinner and the punch was, I believe, their own make. Yes, it was excellent, I must admit."

"And now," pursued the old chair, "you've come to tell these good people to get out; and just think of the time you've chosen to give them this bad news. To-morrow is Christmas Eve. I'm ashamed of you, Tom. Don't you know the high price of liquor, the crushing taxation and the very abstemious habits of people because they can't afford to drink more than a very little? Have a heart, man. The first Tom Smart, your grandfather, would never have done such a thing."

The chair looked very angry as he said this, but quickly his wrinkled face relaxed, perhaps because he saw he had won the day. He con

tinued winking vigorously, and Tom was now winking so rapidly that his eyes were nearly closed most of the time, and in a short while they were completely closed and the only sound in the room was his heavy breathing.

The next morning was fine, finer for the storm which had brought snow and sunshine. Sir Thomas went down to his breakfast, settled his bill, quite a moderate one, and paid his host a compliment on his excellent entertainment, especially the punch, not a word about the notice to quit, and then asked a peculiar question.

"Would you mind selling that old chair which was in my room last night, the very old one?"

"Certainly, I shall be very pleased to get rid of such a useless piece of furniture," answered the innkeeper.

Tom differed from him about the uselessness, but he could not explain how useful it really had been.

As the Chair was carried out to the motor car it creaked very much, but whether it was with pleasure or bodily infirmity no one knew, but Sir Thomas felt sure it was the former.

"That is the story," said Wardle. "I don't vouch for the truth of it, but as the truth of the original has never been seriously questioned, I don't see why anybody should doubt the sequel."

BERNARD SHAW

With the death of George Bernard Shaw on November 2nd there ended the career of one of the most influential writers in English of our time. His indebtedness to Dickens he generously acknowledged on many occasions. His major contributions to Dickensian scholarship were his introduction to *Hard Times* in the nearly forty-year-old Waverley edition of the Works of Dickens and to *Great Expectations*, published by the Limited Editions Club of New York, 1937. The latter was reprinted in a new edition in The Novel Library (Hamish Hamilton), 1947, and reviewed by Mr. Humphry House in *The Dickensian*, in the following year. An essay from his pen, "On Dickens," appeared in *The Dickensian*, 1914, p. 150, and his appraisal of *Little Dorrit*, which he placed very high indeed on the list of Dickens's achievements, is to be found in the volume for 1908, p. 323. The prefaces to his plays abound in references to Dickens which amply repay careful study. His vein of impish irresponsibility was responsible for the abortive conclusion to the Dickens Fellowship's effort to solve *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, by a Trial of John Jasper, and for some mischievous arguments which were effectively refuted by Walter Dexter in *The Dickensian*, 1935, p. 295. His last contribution to these pages was made only last year when he responded with a brief note to an invitation to contribute to our *David Copperfield* Centenary Number.

". . . who is the great fountain-head of the modern humorous school . . . ? Clearly Dickens, who has saturated the whole English-speaking world with his humour. We have squadrons of humorous writers who, if they had never read him would have produced nothing but sectarian tracts, or, worse still, magazine articles. His ascendancy is greater now than ever, because, like Beethoven, he had a 'third manner,' in which he produced works which influenced his contemporaries as little as the Ninth Symphony influenced Spohr or Weber, but which are influencing the present generation as much as the Ninth Symphony influenced Schumann and Wagner."—*The Works of Bernard Shaw*, Vol. 26. (Constable.)

DICKENSIAN BIOGRAPHY FROM FORSTER TO THE PRESENT DAY*

By T. W. Hill

"It is perhaps as difficult to write a good life as to live one."
Lytton Strachey.

SINCE John Forster wrote his great *Life of Dickens* (for it is a grea biography in spite of its limitations) no account of the career o our most eminent novelist has appeared that can be compared with i either for scope, content, or style. My purpose in this paper is to tr to get into proper perspective the successive attempted biographie down to the present day.

Biography as a form of literature has undergone changes, like every thing else, in the course of years, and the most radical change ha occurred within living memory, let us say within the last half-centur or so. Old Plutarch set a pattern for bold outlines and a direc narrative, and this continued down the ages with little alteration til about two hundred years ago, when the pattern became modified b the inclusion of extracts from diaries, letters, and other persona documents, thus allowing the subject of the biography to draw his ow portrait and shew his own character. To this type of biography w owe probably the greatest of them all, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, an later still books like Southey's *Life of Nelson* and the exhaustive an sometimes exhausting *Life of Scott* by Lockhart. Biographies such a these present something more than a mere narrative about the perso commemorated and often include a survey or picture of the perio covered by the Life; in this class we can put such books as Morley' *Life of Gladstone*, Spitta's *Life of Bach*, Buckle's *Life of Beaconsfield* and Macaulay's *Biographical Essays*.

A still later development in writing biography is a method tha applies the technique of the microscope of the scientific worker; th accumulation of minute details by the biographer, who, from hi researches attempts a subtle analysis of the mind of his subject endeavouring in the process to discover which of those details ma have influenced the subject's character as seen by the world.

Now, this method may be hazardous and may become perilously lik fiction, and for this reason: A novelist, a writer of fiction, can an does—indeed he must—create the inner thoughts of the people of hi imagination, shewing their feelings, motives, and reactions necessary to carry on the plot of the story, and, as we know, novelists sometime devote whole pages to the meditations of the figments of their ow imagination. Let me give just one illustration. I need only cit Anthony Trollope, using his best-known book *Barchester Towers*. Trollope knew, because he created them, exactly what was passing i the minds of Archdeacon Grantly, Mr. Slope, Mr. Arabin, Eleanor Bold Mrs. Proudie and her timorous lord and Bishop, Dr. Proudie. Not a single phase of thought are we spared; every one of their unspoke motives and meditations is laid bare for our inspection, and is under the complete and absolute control of their creator. It is the masterly way in which Trollope deals with these meditations, causing them to appear so natural to the characters although everything is controlled, that makes Trollope's books so readable and attractive. But it is very doubtful how accurately this method can be applied to a rea human being. In the case of fiction the author, as I have shewn creates the mind and the consequence follows, whereas in the case of a

*The substance of a paper read before the Dickens Fellowship. October 30th, 1950

real person the writer has to work backwards, having only the consequences before him, and from them to deduce the mind that brought them about. This demands a very acute sense of analysis, and even then the conclusions may very well be wrong, as the mental processes of any human being are quite unpredictable. To quote the words of an authoritative critic (Thomas Davidson) the biographer "cannot always be certain about heart and soul, because he depends entirely upon the written or spoken word, upon the insight and interpretation of friends, himself, or others". It is this very difficulty of deduction which vitiates largely the recent studies of the career of Dickens that have been presented to us as true biographies.

A biography, especially one of so prominent and important a person as Dickens should have certain essentials. It should be accurate in its facts; its deductions must be evident, logical, and convincing. It should be fully documented. It should have a complete and detailed index for ease of reference. And, finally, the book should be sympathetic and unbiassed without losing a sense of discrimination.

And now let me try, however inadequately, to apply these reflections to my real subject, "The Biographies of Dickens".

Immediately after Dickens's death in June, 1870, there was a spate of lives, so-called, written mostly to meet the demand that always occurs on the death of a prominent person, but the majority were the work of mere annalists, recorders of events, dates, and lists of works and such like details. I will not attempt to enumerate them as they include booklets, pamphlets, reprinted obituary notices, all of an ephemeral nature and hastily written from incomplete data and ill-digested material. We can ignore them as they are worthless nowadays and can very well be left to moulder away. I will only recall two that I believe from my own experience are of interest, from their misstatements, to the earnest Dickens student. These early productions contain many inaccuracies, omit important details as the story of Dickens's youth were quite unknown to the writers, and all of them suffer from severe compression. They are unanimous in one respect: they all agree that Dickens was a great novelist. Now for my two exceptions, of somewhat greater length than the average. The writers were in such a hurry to secure priority of public notice that J. C. Hotten issued *The Story of Dickens's Life* by H. T. Taverner and dated his preface June 29th, 1870, less than three weeks after Dickens's death and almost before his body was cold even in the austere and chilly vaults of Westminster Abbey; the other book was by Shelton Mackenzie who dated his hotch-potch of memories August 1st, 1870.

Now we come to the first authentic life, that by John Forster, who worked from his immense accumulation of his own memoranda, including his life-long correspondence with Dickens himself. Forster had also access to the members of the Dickens family and read his manuscript chapter by chapter to Mamie Dickens and Georgina Hogarth, who thus heard for the first time the details of Dickens's childhood. Forster was, indeed, in Miss Hogarth's words, "the only person with the material and authority to write the biography". I must not spend too much time over this famous book, but it does merit a few words. Here are my own feelings about it. First, I find the greatest satisfaction, for I have found constantly that matters connected with Dickens that have been enlarged upon by later commentators as of importance are often alluded to by Forster in a few words or in an aside and that the book is very complete within the limits that Forster set for himself. It has, of course, its shortcomings; what book has not? The dating of the chapters sometimes overlaps; there are some details of Dickens's private life omitted through a decent restraint due to the fact that it was written within three years of his death, when

many of his relatives and friends were still mourning their loss an whose feelings for him would have been harrowed by allusions to suc matters. But, even with these shortcomings, Forster gives us wha one feels is a true picture of its subject and a fair and measure appraisement of his very complex character. There is, as there bound to be, a good deal about Forster himself in the narrative, as h had from the beginning of their coeval literary careers been Dickens most confidential friend and often counsellor and one feels that ther was no need for George Henry Lewes's rather malicious remark tha the book was "a life of John Forster with notices of Dickens", th kind of cheap epigram that is considered smart and is eagerly seize upon by purveyors of ill-natured gossip. Nevertheless, if that is brilliant though meretricious summing up of the book let it stand Forster was a man of immense force of character and wielded grea influence in his day. and his *Life of Dickens* may remain as a grea self-revelation as well as the best life of Dickens yet written. Th best comment on Forster's great work that I know is in J. W. T. Ley introduction to his annotated edition, of which I shall speak presently

It will be readily appreciated that Forster's *Life of Dickens* coul not possibly be the last word. Students and lovers of Dickens wer sure to pursue many of the subjects on which it was felt that Forste had not been sufficiently informative and for much of this referenc can be made to the forty-six volumes of *The Dickensian*, with mor to come in the future. New books have appeared, each incorporatin the latest information available at the time of writing.

The first calling for notice was due to the freshly-revealed news o Dickens's youth in Forster's early chapters. Robert Langton desire to fill out some of the details Forster had given from a sketchy auto biographical fragment that Dickens had supplied. The result wa *The Childhood and Youth of Charles Dickens* (1883 and later enlarge editions), a successful attempt profusely illustrated, giving a good dea of most interesting matter, and shewing how Dickens in his novel had used many of his boyhood experiences.

Then came in 1887 George Dolby's *Charles Dickens as I Knew Him* the story of the Public Readings for which Dolby had acted as agent In spite of its somewhat loose style (Dolby had no training as a writer this is very readable and entertaining and, although necessarily not full biography, is a valuable addition to Forster's condensed pages o this important phase of Dickens's activities.

I may here devote a few sentences to one of the most diligent an indeed indefatigable of all Dickens students; I mean Frederic G Kitton, who began gathering material immediately after Dickens' death. Kitton travelled all over England to places associated wit Dickens and his works, embarked on a voluminous correspondenc with people who had known the novelist, and accompanied W. R Hughes on his *Week's Tramp in Dickens-Land* (1891) which wa adorned with his own illustrations, for he was a talented draughtsma with a special aptitude for producing pen-and-ink drawings suitabl for reproduction. The culmination of all Kitton's publications o Dickensian bibliography, topography, annotation, and literatur appeared in his *Life of Dickens* (1902), which is therefore reliable fo the date of its publication and remains a standard work; it is a fu and loving study by a genuine devotee. Kitton died two years late or he would have been the first editor of *The Dickensian*.

I would draw attention to two small but excellent books tha appeared while Kitton was at work as they are worth preservation One was by Sir A. W. Ward (1882) written for the series of Englis Men of Letters and the other by Frank T. Marzials (1887) fo the Great Writers Series. Of the two that by Ward is the mor

discriminating, but both are full of sane and well-balanced judgement and the facts can be relied upon although some details of Dickens's life and works are omitted.

Now, we must not blink the fact that up to this time, that is for about thirty years after Dickens's death, practically every "life" had been mainly laudatory in tone and stressed the scope and greatness of his achievement, together with his message to his own and future generations of One's Duty towards One's Neighbour, and when the Dickens Fellowship was founded in 1902 among its avowed objects were the resolves: "(*a*) to spread the love of humanity which is the keynote of all his work, and (*b*) to take such measures as may be expedient to remedy those existing social evils, the amelioration of which would have appealed strongly to the heart of Charles Dickens."

In 1904 came a whiff of criticism from that rather pessimistic writer George Gissing, who himself specialised in novels about the substrata of society. Gissing called his book *Charles Dickens: a Critical Study*, not, indeed, a factual biography, although it is written within a chronological framework. I think, on looking back at that time, that it was the word "critical" that caused a little sensation among the out-and-out adulators of Dickens. But more level-headed students saw at once that the whiff was quite a mild one, a mere puff—the outlook of a pessimist on the work of an optimist, and really only emphasised the fact that a sun without spots would not be a real sun. Gissing investigates the spots, but he never loses sight of the splendour of the luminary as a whole. This is a very different thing from the methods of the latest writers on Dickens's life, who find the examination of the spots so absorbing that they almost forget the existence of the mighty complete sun.

The effect of Gissing's book was entirely salutary; it killed the blind hero-worship of the unthinking and shewed that Dickens's essential greatness was not dimmed by the fact that he was human—just a man like other people, and when the next life—again not a factual biography but a chronological study—appeared in 1906 from the pen of G. K. Chesterton, due notice is taken of parts of Dickens that are not of absolute perfection and a good portrait of the real man emerges. Chesterton was a master of a special kind of paradox and if ever a book portrayed its author, Chesterton's *Charles Dickens* is a first-class example. If it could be said, with a little cheap malice, that Forster's book was a life of Forster with occasional references to Dickens, it could be more truly said, without any malice at all, that this book is the personality of Chesterton illuminated from a study of Dickens. Listen to this: "Dickens the optimist, satirises the Fleet, and the Fleet is gone; Gissing the pessimist, satirises Suburbia, and Suburbia remains." Again: "Dickens's art is like life because, like life, it is irresponsible, because, like life, it is incredible."

I think I ought to mention, in passing, the account of Dickens written by Leslie Stephen for the *Dictionary of National Biography* and published separately in America in 1909; from the nature of its surroundings it deals mainly with fact and need not detain us.

I must also find room to mention Percy FitzGerald, who at the age of two-and-twenty made his debut as a writer in *Household Words* under Dickens's editorship. He became a close friend of Dickens and remained an adorer after Dickens died. FitzGerald was a prolific author of fiction, essays, dramatic criticism and biography, but in the closing years of his life became a little garrulous and diffuse, and when at the age of seventy-one he wrote his *The Life of Charles Dickens as Revealed in His Writings* (1905) it turned out to be rather ill-arranged although amusing and full of genial gossip about Dickens and his friendships. It does not greatly help forward my special theme, but

is a good companion volume to Forster as it enlarges some points tha were treated too shortly by the latter.

Indeed, no important biography appeared for more than twenty years after Chesterton's study, although there were numerous publica tions and magazine articles and pamphlets dealing with what Cuming Walters aptly named " Phases " of Dickens. Practically everything new during that period will be found in *The Dickensian*.

So we come to the year 1928, when Forster's *Life* was republished with annotations by J. W. T. Ley, and it was largely because no rea biography had appeared that Ley was inspired to undertake his work He did not interfere with Forster's text, which to him as to every true Dickensian was sacrosanct. He printed the book just as Forster lef it, and added his annotations at the end of each chapter. It is a monument of research and throws light on many matters either in adequately dealt with or omitted altogether by Forster, such as the early love-story with Maria Beadnell, the separation of Dickens from his wife, the early controversies with publishers, the Public Readings and the work of Dickens's company of amateur actors, and there are also notes on Dickens's wide circle of friends. Taken altogether, Ley's work must stand as the authoritative book of reference up to its time.

The following year, 1929, an American Dickens-lover, Professor Edward Wagenknecht, wrote *The Man Charles Dickens*, examining the character of the novelist as illustrated by his writings. It is not really a biography, but it is crammed with accurate biographical informa tion ; it is sympathetic and broadminded, and not always laudatory but even when not laudatory the author's comments are presented in sharp contrast to the attitude in the latest lives, towards which I am gradually approaching. Professor Wagenknecht is particularly inter esting when he considers Dickens as an Artist, Dickens and Love, and The Man and His Soul : all these chapters merit close attention.

Just as the American book was published there appeared in England a very careful study by the late Ralph Straus. With characteristic modesty Straus does not claim for his book an eminent place among Dickens biographies and calls it *Dickens : A Portrait in Pencil* (1928) but in my opinion it must take its place among the best lives of the novelist. It is the work of a master of prose with a very graphic style fair in comment where it is critical, and moderate in tone throughout. Sir Henry Fielding Dickens said of it in a postscript to his own charming *Memories of my Father* (1929) that he was so far satisfied with it picture of his father and his only criticism was that he thought Mr Straus had presented Dickens's general character and disposition in " far too exaggerated and gloomy a light ", his own experience being that his father's " general disposition was singularly bright and joyous ". We can leave it at that and conclude that it must depend upon the point of view ; whether taken from outside by a stranger who never knew the family or from inside by one of the family itself. In any case, Mr. Straus's facts are correct and the book is thoroughly reliable and is written with a sense of responsibility.

About this period a new school of biographers had arisen which devoted itself to what it called " revaluations " and " new judge ments " of prominent people who had been respected in the past and who had commanded admiration from the generation that followed them. These " revaluations " seem to have consisted mainly in the search for facts or comments that would not redound to the credit of the subject. The process came to have a slang title, " Debunking " and the motto of the searchers might be stated as " Let us now debun famous men." The name for ever associated with this revaluation is that of Lytton Strachey, whose elegant and attractive style was founded on diligent research and scholarship. His example was

followed by imitators less well endowed than himself and debunking became the fashion. During the same period, writers of fiction, taking advantage of a kind of loosening of restraint in matters which up to that time were usually taboo in mixed company, were endeavouring to trace all emotion and sentimentality to sexual sources—they called it psycho-analysis—and many were becoming more and more what they called frank and candid ; I should use another adjective.

It was possibly owing to these tendencies that, in contrast to the manner of Straus and his forerunners, Bechhofer Roberts, who called himself " Ephesian ", wrote a novel *This Side Idolatry* (1928), a work of fiction based, it is true, on Dickens's life up to his separation from his wife, but abounding in the wildest imaginative writing. The venom that runs through the book is so marked that the American scholar to whom I referred just now, Professor Wagenknecht, suggested that the title of the novel should have been " Set Down in Malice ". The book had what is called a " wonderful press ", but not quite in the usual acceptance of that expression, for the unanimous verdict of the reviewers agreed with that in *The Times* that it was " an offence against taste ". Ephesian, by his extravagance defeated his own ends, and his book was soon forgotten ; the reason I mention it at all is that there is a note at the end of it which contains the germ of the psychological approach to biography adopted by Jack Lindsay, whose book will come under our notice later on.

So the fuss caused by that ill-natured attack on Dickens died down, leaving Straus's work as the latest reliable biography. And then came a book that should be better known than I fear it is : H. C. Dent's *Life and Characters of Charles Dickens* (1933) issued as an additional volume of a collected edition of Dickens's works by the Odham Press. Fortunately, it was procurable separately and so I obtained my copy. Mr. Dent began life as a schoolmaster and is now the editor of *The Times Educational Supplement*, so it is not surprising that his style is forthright, readable, and informative. His outlook is broad and sympathetic and he evidently knows and loves Dickens's work, although he does not hesitate when he wishes to be critical, which is as it should be. Its only lack is an index and this is a pity considering how useful and handy a volume it is. Until the ideal biography appears I cannot think of a better introduction to Dickens to put into the hand of the young and adolescent reader upon whom will fall the responsibility of carrying on the study of the novelist that is so earnestly fostered by the Dickens Fellowship. I rather suspect that Mr. Dent had this class of reader in mind when he wrote the book.

Dent's book was shortly followed by a " Blot in the ' Scutcheon ' " of biography as a form of literature, written by Stephen Leacock (1934). I should think that this is the worst biography that was ever written by anyone of anybody. It is quite unworthy of a man of Leacock's reputation, being shockingly careless, replete with inaccuracies and utterly unreliable. There is no trace of the native Leacockian humour, unless the whole thing was intended as a joke, in which case it is worse than a damp squib ; it is an empty squib-case. Let us forget it and resume our theme by saying that Dent's book was the last of the old type before the incidence of the new method to which I have already referred, founded on the use of the dissecting scalpel and consisting largely of theories and guesses, coupled to the personal obsession of the writer rather than upon the objective study of the subject.

(*To be concluded.*)

SIDELIGHT ON A GREAT FRIENDSHIP

FOREMOST among the friends Dickens made during his long sojourn a Lausanne in 1846 were the Hon. Richard and Mrs. Watson, of Rockingham Castle, Northants. The story of this friendship is told in the long serie of letters from Dickens to Mrs. Watson now in the Huntington Library California, all of which were published in the Nonesuch Edition and i *The Dickensian*. Dickens and his party travelled about Switzerland wit them continually and dinner parties were frequently exchanged. They me again when Dickens was living in Paris and on a number of occasions he wa an honoured guest at Rockingham Castle, which with certain modification was described as Chesney Wold in *Bleak House*. To his hosts there h dedicated *David Copperfield*. Dickens held them both in the warmes affection and his letters to Mrs. Watson both before and after th death of her husband, ar full of the sincerest friendship.

Hon. Richard Watson
from the original study, at Rockingham Castle, for the great picture of the House of Commons, 1833, by George Hayter, 1834.

Last year, when visited the Castle for th purpose of bringing t London, for temporar exhibition at the Dicken House, the dedicatio copy of *David Copper field*, Mrs. Watson's great grandson, Sir Micha Culme-Seymour, opene a drawer in the librar and revealed a numbe of neat leather-boun booklets. They were Mr Watson's MS. diaries— not of the literary kin but jottings of the *aid mémoire* type. Sir Micha permitted me to brows amongst these and late agreed to the printing, i *The Dickensian*, of thos entries which relate to he friendship with Dicken To him I offer my mos grateful thanks.

The Hon. Richar Watson died on Jul 26th, 1852, at which tim the diaries cease. Mr Watson died on Februar 20th, 1888, and was buried beside her husband in the little church in th park at Rockingham.—EDITOR.

1846.

June 15 Reached Lausanne about half-past three. Went to th Gibbon[1] but did not like the appearance of the place and too rooms at the Faucon. Drove about in the evening and looke at Elysée.[2]

16 Engaged Elysée at 2000 French francs for six months.

[1] The hotel at which Dickens put up on his arrival. It stood on the Plac S. François but no longer exists.

[2] The house which Dickens thought of taking before he decided upon Rose mont. It still stands. Rosemont does not.

29 Dined with Mr. Haldimand.[1] Met Boz. Mrs. Dickens and her sister Miss Hogarth. Liked him altogether very much as well as his wife. He appears unaffected. Mr. and Mrs. de Cerjat,[2] Mr. and Mrs. Goff.[3] Tremendous storm of thunder and lightning during dinner.

July 6 Dined with Mr. and Mrs. de Cerjat. Met the Dickenses, Haldimand, Mr. Baird, etc.

16 Dined with the Dickenses and passed an evening just as one would expect at the home of Boz. He was in extraordinary spirits and was very amusing: Tricks, Characters, etc. "The Brave" seems an excellent servant, his name is Roche, a Frenchman.

27 A party consisting of ourselves, Mr. and Mrs. Dickens, Miss Hogarth, Mr. and Mrs. de Cerjat, Mrs. Marcet[4] and Mr. Haldimand made an excursion[5] by the Lac de Bret to Vevey. Chexbres most beautiful. The view from the Cathedral at Vevey very fine. Mr. Dickens most amusing at dinner and particularly at Ludlow's[6] [?] house.

Aug. 4 A party of ten to dinner. The Dickenses, Haldimand, Cerjat and Goff.

10 A party to the Lac de Bret where we dined, and to Vevey. The Dickenses, Haldimand, Lord Vernon,[7] Cerjats and Goffs.

Hon. Mrs. Watson

from a miniature at Rockingham Castle presented to her son the Rev. Wentworth Watson by Robert sixth Earl Spencer.

[1] Wm. Haldimand, an Englishman settled in Lausanne with whom Dickens struck up a life-long friendship, and after whom he named one of his sons. A one-time Governor of the Bank of England, resigned his seat in Parliament after an election dispute in 1826. Settled in *Denantou*, Lausanne, in 1828, where he endowed the Asylum for the Blind and bequeathed to it his fortune. He died at *Denantou* in 1862, aged 78.

[2] Wm. F. de Cerjat, who had married Maria Holmes, an Englishwoman. They too were life-long friends of Dickens.

[3] Mrs. Goff, sister of Mrs. Cerjat.

[4] Jane Marcet, a writer on chemistry and political economy. Wm. Haldimand's sister.

[5] See Dickens's letter to Forster, July 25th.

[6] Possibly J. M. Ludlow, Barrister, the associate of F. D. Maurice the Christian Socialist.

[7] Lord Vernon, the Dante scholar.

Aug. 11 An evening alone with the Boz family. Played at Battledo and Shuttlecock with him.

19 Went with Messrs. Haldimand, Dickens, and Boz [*sic*] to th Asyle des Aveugles.[1] There is one most remarkable case a young man, deaf, dumb, and blind, who has been taugh to *speak*, write and read. We saw him reading and writing His aptitude and anxiety to learn were wonderful. Ther was also a little girl who had been there about three month deaf, dumb, and blind, but who was making progress.

21 The Haldimands, Cerjats, and Taylours[2] dined with us and small party in the evening. Boz in a state of great animatio

Sept. 1 Left Ouchy at half-past eleven, and reached Martigny (Hot de la Grande Maison) at half before seven. Very good In The Cascade very magnificent. Stopped for a few minutes a the Baths of Lavey. The party consisted of Mr. and Mr Dickens, Miss Hogarth, Mr. Haldimand, Mr., Mrs. and Mis Cerjat and the Taylours. Roche, the brave courier an servants.

2 Left at seven in chaise passing through Orsières to Lydde [Liddes] where we mounted the mules of the chaise an reached the convent [St. Bernard] about seven. The approac to which was very striking from its gloomy desolate grandeu Passed a disagreeable night,[3] the bed broke down, etc.

3 Left the convent about half-past seven, and reached Martign at half-past six.

4 Arrived at Lausanne at half-past three. Boz very ente taining. He told me that he had written all his books *sinc* Pickwick for translation. He says all the French transl tions are horrible, but there is a very good Italian one *Oliver Twist*.

12 A Soiree at Mr. Dickens to hear him read the first number his new work *Dombey and Son*.[4] He reads remarkably we and we are all of opinion that the beginning of this work more interesting than the commencement of any of hi other works. He has great expectations of it himself. H told me that he was sent to a Dissenters' School at Rocheste though his parents were not Dissenters. Mrs. Marcet, Cerjat Goffs, Lord Vernon, Sir J. Goye,[5] Haldimand and a M and Mrs. Thompson[6] were present. The reading lasted abou an hour and three-quarters. The career of Dombey, So and Daughter are settled, but I think none of the others.

Oct. 10 Mr. Dickens read the second number of *Dombey*[7] and we wer all much pleased.

Nov. 12 This evening we dined with Boz and after dinner he read hi new Christmas Book called *The Battle of Life*.[8] We ar all inclined to think it the most poetical and refined of a his works. He read it with wonderful charm and spirit Lavinia[9] was quite overcome by it.

[1] See letters to Forster. Nonesuch, Vol. I, pp. 765, 768, and 782.
[2] The Ladies Taylour, daughters of the 2nd Marquess of Headfort.
[3] Dickens's letter to Forster gives the reasons for the discomfort.
[4] This reading is not mentioned in Forster.
[5] Possibly the "Sir Joseph" humorously described in Dickens's letter t Forster, undated (August) Nonesuch, Vol. I, p. 779.
[6] T. J. Thompson, and his wife, née Christiana Weller.
[7] See Dickens's letter to Forster, October 11th, 1846.
[8] This reading is not mentioned in Forster.
[9] Lavinia was probably a relative of Mrs. Watson. The name was commo in the family of Earl Spencer, her grandfather. It was, of course, her nam also. One of the two Misses Spenlow was named Lavinia.

Nov. 15 Dined at Denantou[1] to meet the Dickens who leave to-morrow[2] to our great grief. It is impossible to describe the feelings of regard and friendship with which he has inspired us. He certainly is the most natural unaffected distinguished man I ever met.

Dec. 31 Dined with Boz at his house, 48 Rue de Courcelles [Paris]. He told me the particulars of the most extraordinary story of a man of the name of Wainwright [*sic*] who was supposed to have committed several murders, amongst others his wife's sister. He is now transported for forgery and his life is the foundation of Bulwer's new novel Lucretia. Boz said that he himself does not much like Pickwick.

1847

Jan. 25 [Paris] Dined with the Dickenses. A large party. Met M. Pichot, the translator of his books, Mr. Forster and others.

Nov. 27 Dickens, Mrs. Dickens, etc., arrive [at Rockingham Castle].

"Rosemont," 1926

Dickens's home in Lausanne during 1846, now demolished. The sketch of the house in Forster's *Life* is said to be the work of the Hon. Mrs. Watson.

Dec. 3 Boz and Co. went away. He read the 16th number of *Dombey* last night in the Gallery.[3]

9 We dined with Boz in London. Met Mrs. Norton[4] and Mr. Fonblanque.[5]

1848

May 15 Saw Dickens and others act in Justice Shallow[6] and *Animal Magnetism* and on Wednesday we saw him in Capt. Bobadil[7] and *Love, Law, and Physic.*

[1] The home of Haldimand. See *The Dickensian*, 1947, p. 5.
[2] See Dickens's letter to Forster of this date: "It was quite miserable this last night we left them at Haldimands."
[3] This reading is not mentioned in Forster.
[4] The plaintiff in the *cause célèbre*, Norton v. Melbourne, which was the source of *Bardell v. Pickwick.*
[5] Albany Fonblanque, Forster's predecessor as Editor of *The Examiner.*
[6] Justice Shallow in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Haymarket Theatre, London.
[7] Bobadil in *Every Man in His Humour*, Haymarket Theatre, London.

Dec. 11 Went to London with Lavinia. Dined with Dickens who i the evening read the *Haunted Man* with his usual energy an spirit. I was stupid and did not appreciate the beauties o the book till I read it. Mr. Forster, Stanfield, Mr. Chapma and Miss Coutts present.

12 Dined with Miss Coutts. Very pleasant, Boz, Rogers, Buckland,[2] Wheatstone[3] present.

1849

Nov. 26 Dickens and family, Miss Boyle,[4] arrived [at Rockingha Castle].

30 Dickens and Family left. Last night he and Miss Boyle acte a scene out of *Nicholas Nickleby* and from the *School fo Scandal* in the Hall most admirably. He afterwards per formed some conjuring tricks.

1850

Dec. 11 Dined with Dickens. Met Mr. and Mrs. Pollock[5] an Boxall[6]. Dickens told me that the great French write Scribe was in London. He asked him what struck him mos in England and he replied the extraordinary civility of th people.

1851

Jan. 8 Dickens and Co. arrived.

9 Boyle, etc.—preparations for the play.

11 Dress rehearsal [*Used Up*, etc.].

13 First performance. The families of many of the tenants a well as some others present.

15 Great evening for the play which went off admirably. Supp and dance. [For playbill: see *The Dickensian*, 1940, p. 92]

16 Dickens, etc., left.

Aug. 20 Young Charles Dickens arrived.[7]

Dec. 4 Dined with Dickens in Tavistock Square. Met Mr. White of the Isle of Wight and Knight[9] the Publisher. Mazzini who was hardly expected, could not come on account of th events in Paris. The object of his party is to have Lehr Rollin elected President of the French Republic and wh in that case has promised to march an army to Rome t drive the Austrians out of Italy. The impression now is tha Louis Bonaparte will be successful for the moment.

1852

Mar. 31 Returned to Rockingham. C. Dickens, Mr. Wills and Mis Royle arrived and stayed one night.

Apr. 1 Dickens and Mr. Wills left for Birmingham.

7 Hippisley arrived and Charley Dickens.

May 1 A letter from Dickens telling that 35,000 copies of Bleak House were sold on the first day of publication. Mr. Boythorn is an exact portrait of Walter Savage Landor.

[1] Samuel Rogers, the poet.
[2] Possibly Wm. Buckland, Dean of Westminster and geologist, or his son Francis Trevelyan Buckland, naturalist.
[3] Possibly Sir Chas. Wheatstone, the telegraphic inventor.
[4] Dickens's first meeting with Mary Boyle. See *Mary Boyle: Her Book*.
[5] Afterwards Sir Wm. Fred. Pollock, Bt., Queen's Remembrancer and author.
[6] Sir Wm. Boxall, R.A.
[7] He was fourteen years of age and at Eton.
[8] Rev. Jas. White, of Bonchurch, an intimate friend of Dickens.
[9] Chas. Knight, publisher and author, another great friend of Dickens and co-member of the Shakespeare Club.

May 12 [really May 13]. Went with Lavinia to Birmingham, where in the evening in the Town Hall, Dickens and his party acted the play for the benefit of the Guild.

13 This morning in company with Dickens, Mark Lemon, Collins, Tenniel, Egg, Cunningham,[1] etc., we visited the factories of Gillott's pens, Elkington's Electro-plating and Harvey's glass, seeing the processes at all the places. Extremely interesting. Returned to Rockingham by the last train.

June 10 Dined with Dickens, met Mark Lemon.

July 11 Dined with Dickens, met Mr. Townshend.[2]

As noted above, Mrs. Watson ceased to keep a diary on the death of her husband on July 26th, 1852.

Rockingham Castle, the home of the Hon. Richard and Mrs. Watson and the original of Chesney Wold in *Bleak House*.

[1] All these people appeared in the plays *Not So Bad As We Seem*, and *Mr. Nightingale's Diary*, on the previous evening.

[2] Chauncey Hare Townshend to whom *Great Expectations* was dedicated.

ERRATUM—*HOUSEHOLD WORDS*

With apologies to our readers and to the author, we have to indicate an editorial error in Mr. William E. Buckler's article "Dickens's Success with *Household Words*" in *The Dickensian* for September, 1950.

In Note 6, pp. 198-199, in the sentence dealing with the conjectured circulation of *Household Words*, the word "weekly" should be omitted. The corrected sentence will then read :

"Thus, in order to return £7,940 18*s*. 0*d*., more than 950,000 copies of *Household Words* must have been sold during this period, that of the eighteenth volume."

The weekly circulation, as Mr. Buckler has since pointed out, was probably around 37,000 copies.—EDITOR.

WANTED

Has any reader a dress-makers' dummy which he or she no longer requires ? The Dickens Fellowship Costume Department would very gratefully receive it.

THE FELLOWSHIP IN RETROSPECT
THE MIDDLE YEARS

By A. W. Edwards

The Dickensian for 1944 contained articles in three issues entitled "Twice Twenty-One, The Fellowship in Retrospect" by the late Editor, Walter Dexter. He had planned to write a detailed History of the Fellowship but when he died in 1944 had only covered the period from 1902-1908. His long official association as Treasurer for 18 years (1908-1925) and then as Editor of *The Dickensian* for 19 years (1925-1944) admirably equipped him for the task—but it was not to be.

And now I have been invited to continue the narration. I can only surmise that the Editor's request arises from the fact that I am one of the oldest members and that I was elected to the Council in 1911 and appointed Hon. Secretary in 1925, a position I held until 1936 when deafness forced me to resign. It is with much diffidence that I accede to the request.

Even in the dark days described by Dexter there were gleams of light and at least two essays in adventure shed a light on the Fellowship and did much to make it known and enhance its fame. First the Charitable and Needlework Guild had been formed in the earliest days and under the guidance of Miss E. M. Minniken and then, in turn, Miss Annie Sherlock, Mrs. T. W. Hill, and Mrs. A. W. Edwards, some very remarkable work was done. The early records tell of yearly bazaars and sales of work the proceeds of which, together with donations enabled pensions to be paid to a number of needy folk, clothing distributed, as well as coal and other necessities to poverty-stricken people, and Christmas dinners and treats to poor children in various parts of London. This type of work has been carried on in various forms through the years. Branches became infected with the same spirit and also took up the work thus carrying out one of the objects of the Fellowship "To help in every possible direction in the cause of the poor and oppressed."

The second essay in adventure was the formation of the Dramatic society in 1905 with Dexter as its organising secretary. In the Winter number of *The Dickensian* for 1945-46, Mr. Frank Staff gives a detailed account of the fortunes of this society till the first world-war put an end to its activities.

These two ventures added considerably to the strength of the Fellowship during a most difficult period.

BRANCHES.

The year 1909 saw some trouble with an alleged branch in America. Sanction had been given in June, 1906, for the formation of a branch in a certain American city, but nothing had been heard of its activities and its name had accordingly been deleted from the list of Branches in *The Dickensian*. Suddenly, in 1909, application was made from another source in the same city for permission to form a Branch.

The original applicant, in reply to an enquiry on the subject, maintained that a Branch *had* existed for two years; to which the Council replied to the effect that as it had never been informed of the fact the Branch's existence could not be recognised. As a result, the Rule dealing with the formation of Branches was amended at the following Conference. No further reference was made to the subject from America, but a cutting from an American paper reported that a meeting of the so-called Branch had been held, at which the Secretary

Mr. J. W. T. Ley, was accused of not answering correspondence or acknowledging the payment of dues. Resolutions were passed at this meeting repudiating all connection with the Fellowship and its Secretary and styling the Branch "The Dickens Memorial Association," all American Branches being invited to do the same. The second applicant mentioned above wrote to assure Council of the loyalty of American Branches and nothing further was heard of this abortive attempt to alienate them from the Fellowship. The Council gave this gentleman authority to form a properly constituted branch and it is pleasant to record that this Branch remains in a flourishing condition to the present day.

Ley published the facts of the matter and his action was fully confirmed by the Council. Just at this time, however, an opportunity to resume journalistic work in his native city of Bristol presented itself and very regretfully Ley resigned. He received a presentation from the Council and Matz wrote a warm tribute was paid to him in *The Dickensian* in May, 1909.

The late J. W. T. Ley.

His loyalty to the Fellowship never wavered and his love of Dickens is shown by his published works. At his death in 1943, Dexter recorded "that every one of the 39 volumes of our magazine contains some useful contribution from his pen." It was impossible at the moment to find a successor to Ley, so a "Committee of Management" consisting of four members of the Council was appointed to fulfil all secretarial functions. The individuals varied from time to time.

Originally Conference was for Branch Secretaries only to meet annually, alternately in London and a provincial town. This arrangement was amended so that an Annual Conference of all members could be held in any town or city where a Branch was in existence and delegates from Branches in the ratio of one to every 25 members or part thereof appointed to attend. Conference thereafter became more as we know it to-day. In 1909 it was held at Birmingham, at which it is pleasant to note that the financial position was satisfactory, due largely to the public spirit of B. W. Matz who had announced that he would not accept any share of the profit on *The Dickensian* till the Fellowship was out of debt. This generous action was highly appreciated by the Conference. For years in the latter part of his editorship Matz gave his services free and this practice has been followed by his successors.

Perhaps a few words here relative to Branches and their membership may not be out of place. From the beginning a record of individual members had been kept at Headquarters and a Certificate of membership sent to each new member. By the beginning of 1910, 17,000 certificates had been issued, although this large figure did not represent the *actual* membership as about one fourth of the recorded members had not renewed their subscription.

It will be readily understood that this entailed an enormous amount of work at Headquarters and did not help the financial position. As the Branches increased in number and in size, it finally became necessary to discontinue the Headquarters register and from that time each Branch has kept its own records.

By the rules then in existence the annual subscription was 1/- per member out of which Branches in the British Isles had to remit to

Headquarters a capitation fee of 3d. per member per annum and Overseas Branches 4d. per member. The 1/- subscription was however altogether inadequate to keep the Fellowship in a sound financial condition and subsequently the annual subscription was raised to 2/6 per member of which Branches sent 10d. per member to Headquarters. Subscription to *The Dickensian* was not then obligatory and many members did not take the magazine as its price was in addition to the annual subscription. Whilst the majority of Branches loyally accepted the new conditions, a number of Branches felt that the payment to Headquarters was a handicap to their local finances and raised objections causing much anxiety and trouble to the Council. One Branch (Portsmouth) did break away. From the latest information available I find 134 Branches have been formed since the Fellowship was founded in 1902 and for various reasons 67 of these have ceased to exist, many no doubt as a result of the Wars and the changing conditions in different districts.

As there were many members of the Fellowship unattached to any Branch, a scheme was put in hand to appoint official correspondents in places where no Branch existed. Correspondents had to be members of the Fellowship and appointed only by the Council. It was intended that those appointed should represent unattached members at Conference with full powers as delegates, should be regarded as the medium for correspondence relating to their districts, keep Council informed of any Dickensian activities in their neighbourhood and make an endeavour, where conditions were favourable, to form Branches. Mr Ley was one of the first to be appointed under this scheme. An attempt at this time to bring about a reconciliation with "The Dickens Birthplace Fellowship (Portsmouth)" which had seceded on the question of Fees to be remitted to Headquarters, failed and nothing came of it until a few years later.

Mr. A. S. Hearn, always ready to make useful suggestions proposed that an illuminated Charter certificate should be issued to all existing Branches and any new one formed thereafter. This was unanimously approved and from a number of designs, that of Miss Ruth Cobb was accepted, and this design continues to be used.

Owing to friendly criticism that Headquarters, with its own members subscriptions and dues from Branches was in a more favourable position than Provincial Branches which depended on members subscriptions only, it was decided to form a London Branch to be financially self supporting and independent. The first meeting of the new London Branch was held at Clifford's Inn on July 17th, 1912, and A. E. Brookes Cross was elected its Secretary. Thus the Committee of management already overworked, was relieved of the responsibility of organising meetings for lectures, etc., in London.

Relations between Headquarters and Branches were still not altogether easy, especially in respect of the dues payable and evidence was from time to time forthcoming that small branches (some had 50 members or less) felt a financial "pinch" as a result and many proposals for alterations in the rates were received. Several important changes were made in the Rules at the ensuing Conference at Hull.

It was decided that Vice-Presidents should be chosen from descendants of the novelist or be of recognised eminence in Literature, Science the Arts or National Service, and desire was expressed to confine the list to people of world-wide reputations who would confer honour and give dignity to the Fellowship.

The Council's scheme for the affiliation of Branches on the basis of population of the towns in which they were situated was defeated and an amendment adopted that Branches should remit annually 4d. per member but that power be given to Council to remit up to 50 per cent

of the 4d. in certain circumstances. Colonial and Foreign Branches should not be required to pay for more than 500 members.

It was also resolved that any Branch might have *The Dickensian* posted monthly direct to its members on payment of 2/6 per annum per member provided that not fewer than 25 annual subscriptions be received from the Branch ; that each Branch should fix its own subscriptions ; that the subscription payable by members unattached to Branches should be an annual one of not less than 5/- to include a copy of *The Dickensian* post free monthly. Several times wishes had been expressed that the financial position of *The Dickensian* should be made public and a proper statement was ordered to be submitted to the next year's Conference.

OFFICERS

By 1913 the three members of the Committee were finding the strain of administration too heavy. Mr. T. W. Hill joined the Committee but after three months had to withdraw as he was unable to give the attendance necessary for the proper fulfilment of the duties. On Mr. Dexter expressing an opinion that he would have to resign as the responsibilities were too onerous for two people, a sub-committee was appointed to enquire and report on the whole position. Their report contained so many exacting requirements that Council declined to act, and although it did not solve the difficulty, the Committee agreed to carry on as best it could until after Conference.

Mr. T. W. Hill.

At the business meeting of the Ninth Annual Conference held at Rochester in 1914, the large assembly effected what amounted to a bloodless revolution in the constitution of the Fellowship for the old rule governing the capitation fee was swept away and an affiliation fee of £1 1s. 0d. per Branch was substituted. Each Branch was to be self-supporting, elect its own officers, keep its own accounts and dispose of its own funds. A Council at Headquarters was set up, its members to be elected by the Annual Conference, any Branch being entitled to send a representative to Council Meeting. In fact the constitution of the Fellowship became almost as it is to-day. Alas ! The Fellowship had hardly had time to digest its new Rules and get used to its new democratic constitution when in a few weeks war broke out and a period of severe trial began for all such cultural and charitable societies as ours.

In view of the alteration in constitution, it was decided that the Committee of Management of three should continue, the matter to be re-considered in six months time and Messrs. Dexter, Marriott and Miller were appointed at the first Council meeting after Conference. In December at the expiry of six months Messrs. Dexter and Miller resigned from that body and the Committee of management was abolished, leaving the Fellowship without anyone to carry out secretarial duties.

The Council had felt for a long time that a Committee of Management was never an ideal arrangement, and the search for a Secretary had never ceased during the five years. Very fortunately just at the right time a volunteer was found in Mr. T. W. Hill who was elected Hon.

Secretary, Mr. Dexter retaining the Treasurership. The alteration in the constitution began to have effect and it is gratifying to note that the Portsmouth Branch so long estranged from the Fellowship had now rejoined.

One of the results of the Nation being at War was that Conferences at provincial towns had to be abandoned and all Annual Conferences during 1915-19 were held in London largely as a matter of form for the purpose of complying with the obligations of the Rules. All matters of administration were the subject of agreement between Headquarters and the Branches who were kept informed of all develoments. Branches were advised to keep a full account of their war-time activities so that on cessation of hostilities a systematized account of all that was being done for the entertainment of the Forces and the efforts to alleviate the sufferings of victims of the war might be collated and edited for publication at some future time. The Fellowship as a whole during this period was extremely active in the charitable work.

Mr. C. H. Green.

In 1917 the price of *The Dickensian* was raised from 3d. to 4d. per month owing to the increased cost of production and, in 1919, owing to difficulties in the publishing world, it become a quarterly at one shilling per issue instead of a monthly magazine.

The financial position caused anxiety. Donations for charitable purposes were necessarily continued but decreasing revenue made it necessary to examine the position closely. Since 1914 six Branches had disappeared from the list and of the total number of 52 only 32 Branches were paying their dues regularly. Seven Branches were one year in arrears, two were two years, and eleven were regarded as beyond resuscitation. The matter was discussed from time to time and in 1918 a re-construction of the Fellowship was seen to be inevitable. A Sub-Committee was appointed which drew up a scheme that was submitted to the Fourteenth Annual Conference held at Anderton's Hotel on 31st May, 1919.

In September Mr. T. W. Hill was obliged to resign the office of Hon. Secretary as he was suffering from over-work, the resignation to take effect as from 1st December, Mr. Dexter meanwhile taking over duties of Hon. Secretary at Mr. Hill's request.

The principal changes effected in a further reconstruction at this time, were that the London Branch would cease to exist, its membership being merged into Headquarters, thus reverting to the position of 1912. There were to be separate divisional Committees : Finance, Membership, Entertainments and Public Meetings, Propaganda and Charitable, each with its own secretary who would be responsible to Council. The affiliation fee to be paid by Branches was to be in proportion to the total membership of each Branch with a minimum of one guinea per annum for the first 50 members or part of 50 and 10/6 for every additional 50 members or under. The Secretary or other duly authorised official of the Branch to be *ex-officio* a member of the Council so that every Branch should have a voice in the counsels of the Fellowship and finally a special committee, consisting of an

equal number of representatives of Headquarters and of the Branches was appointed to re-draft the constitution of the Fellowship.

The first meeting of the reconstructed Fellowship was held at Anderton's Hotel on 20th May, 1920. It was resolved that the annual subscription should be 10/6 (to include a copy of *The Dickensian* post free as published) and 7/6 for subsequent members of the same family living at the same address (without the magazine).

The choice of Mr. C. H. Green as Hon. Secretary was a fortunate one. His predecessors had been busy men able to devote only their leisure to the interests of the Fellowship whereas he had recently retired from active business and was able to give practically his whole energies to his new office—indeed he proposed to be in attendance on most days at the office as a whole-time official—the first in our history.

Under its new constitution the Fellowship entered upon an era of renewed life and vigour and during the subsequent years increasingly progressed in financial stability and prosperity. Its charitable work was intensified, many Branches establishing "Tiny Tim" cots and in other ways rendering very substantial help to local hospitals.

The work of the Fellowship was growing apace and early in the year the Hon. Secretary reported that he could not carry on without some clerical assistance. Leave was given him to procure such and at the April meeting in 1922 he announced that he had engaged Miss D. L. Minards in accordance with the Committee's decision. This proved a very happy appointment as subsequent events amply proved.

(To be continued)

THE DICKENS HOUSE ENDOWMENT FUND

(WALTER DEXTER MEMORIAL)

	£	s.	d.	*Branch Total to Date* £	s.	d.
Boston Branch: Mrs. Bagley	17	14	4	38	15	4
Lytham St. Annes: Sale of books	0	12	0	25	12	0
Melbourne: Miss J. Walker	0	10	0	5	15	0
Nottingham:						
Lecture: Mr. Leslie C. Staples	5	5	0			
Mrs. Giles: Garden Party	3	5	0			
Mrs. Giles: Lecture	1	0	0	233	4	0
Pittsburgh	0	9	7	28	8	7
Southend	2	2	0	157	5	0
Sydney	5	5	0	11	11	0
HEADQUARTERS						
Sale of books				30	0	0
Sir Louis Sterling				26	5	0
Sir George Sutton Estate				20	0	0
Mr. C. J. Coster—Lamp raffle				2	10	0
Mr. Frank S. Johnson recital				2	2	0
The Misses Dingley—collection on visit to 1 Devonshire Terrace				1	15	6
Mrs. Parsons				1	10	0
Mr. F. J. Glass				1	1	0
Mr. A. H. Reed				1	0	0
Mrs. Walter Dexter				0	15	0
Miss K. Skinner				0	14	0
Mr. Yvon Hawkes				0	13	0
Mrs. Chappell				0	10	6
Miss May S. Jeffery				0	10	6
Miss C. Rose				0	10	0
Miss M. C. Shelton				0	10	0
Miss D. Day				0	4	0
Headquarters total since the institution of "Targets"				976	19	4
Total of Fund to date				£5,707	3	2

JIM CROW AND BOZ'S JUBA

By Malcolm Morley

THE two volumes of *American Notes* by Charles Dickens wer published in October, 1842, some four months after his retur from the new continent. The " Notes " recorded travels in the Unite States and Canada, giving the novelist's impressions of those countrie and freely stating his opinion of the things he saw there.

On Saturday, December 24th, 1842, a farce by Edward Stirling wa produced at th Adelphi Theatre i London with th title *Yankee Not for English Circul tion.* S. J. Adai Fitzgerald and othe have claimed this a an adaptation Boz's *America Notes.* But the onl adaptation here is i the title; the te of the farce bears n relation to the te of the volume There is literall nothing in the trav book possible dramatisation an Stirling's piece is a invented story n an iota of which even remotely hinte at in Dickens's wor In " Yankee Notes the characters are a of the farce-writer creation and the so reference to th novelist's publica tion is in the fin speech delivered b the leading chara ter, Julius Caes Washington Hicko Dick, a negro factotum. When his troubles in the play come to a end, he announces to his contestants : " Now I'll have my reveng and publish you all. I'll go upon a grand tour of England, make book myself and tell all about the white trash in this country, lik Massa Boz and Missie Trollope." Then turning to the audience, in th manner of farces at that period, he adds : " I hope our kind friends he will receive our Yankee Notes and give them an extensive circulatio by their notes of hand." After which Yankee Doodle was played the orchestra and the audience, part of it at any rate, applauded an the curtain fell.

JIM CROW

I wheel about, I turn about,
I do just so,
And ebery time I wheel about,
I jump Jim Crow.

A contemporary print circulated as a portrait of T. D. Rice. By the courtesy of Gerald Maurice.

The farce itself was an uninspired specimen of theatrecraft pu together as a vehicle for T. D. Rice, the famous negro impersonate singer and dancer. The part of Hickory Dick, similar to all his oth parts, allowed him to introduce a number of negro melodies, a thir

Rice did in most plays in which he appeared as a star. He is the general help in an American Hotel at Saratoga Bar. His sweetheart played by Mrs. H. P. Grattan, is a mulatto beauty, Zip Coon, which name, by the way, was the title of the melody that to-day is known as Turkey-in-the-Straw. Zip's lips attract those of all the visiting males to the Hotel much to the disgust of Hickory, who seethes with indignation throughout the farce. Edward Wright, the resident low comedian at the Adelphi, acted Timothy Pippen, a runaway husband from England, a young man with bigamous inclinations. He is impersonating Silas Solomon Sprawl, an American suitor for the hand of Emma Wad, daughter of a New York merchant, a character undertaken by J. P. Wilkinson, an actor seen in several of the early Dickens's dramatisations. Mrs. Pippen, from the Old Country, turns up at the hotel. So does the genuine Silas, who proves to be a most obliging gentleman, for he resigns Emma to the man she really cares for, one Major Dowbiggen. During the course of these most unlikely events, Hickory tries to pass himself off as the Major. He arrays himself in a military cloak and cocked hat and later mounts a pedestal to take the place of a statue of George Washington. From this point of vantage the negro sees a lot and hears a lot, yet none of the people below are conscious of the change from an inanimate replica of the First President to the very much alive Hotel Factotum.

"JUBA," AT VAUXHALL GARDENS.

BOZ'S JUBA

By courtesy of the Theatre Collection, Harvard College Library.

Nothing whatever of the plot of *Yankee Notes* can be found in *American Notes*, though the title follows in line with the several adaptations from Dickens already seen at the theatre. The piece was not particularly successful and soon fell from the bill at the Adelphi. Rice later gave *Yankee Notes* in his native America at the Chatham Theatre, New York, on October 11th, 1843, where again it had but small success. Apropos of the title there was an Entertainment labelled *Yankee Notes for Home Circulation* given around the English provinces in 1844. It was a one-man show by the singer Moody and consisted of songs and imitations of London actors.

To return to T. D. Rice, he has been termed the father of American Minstrelsy. His fame began when, his face blackened with burnt cork, he first sang *Jim Crow*, a coon melody founded upon the performance of a negro servant to whom he listened as that individual cleaned the

horses in a stable yard in Louisville, shuffling the while into a kind o dance. The comedian took some of the stanzas he heard from th negro and added many new ones to fit local situations. The song an dance became a sensation first in America and then in England. Th chorus was always the same :

> " First in de heel tap, den on de toe,
> Ebery time I wheel about I jump Jim Crow.
> Wheel about and turn about an' do jus' so,
> And ebery time I wheel about I jump Jim Crow."

From singing and dancing *Jim Crow* between the acts of variou plays, Rice introduced a Jim Crow character into plays that wer fashioned for him. His first appearance in New York was in 1832 an four years later he made his London debut at the Surrey Theatre. O November 7th, 1836, Jim Crow was in the bill at the Adelphi i *A Flight to America* : *or, Twelve Hours in New York*, a piece writte for the occasion by W. L. Rede. The American comedian immediatel soared into popularity : the song and dance became the hit of the town He afterwards appeared in other plays at the theatre and in nearl every one had to repeat the darkey ditty with its quaint shuffle-dance At the first performance at the Adelphi of *The Peregrinations o Pickwick*, though not one of the *dramatis personae*, Rice entered th scene and gave Jim Crow. It was a turn introduced by the manage ment to give the dramatisation a good send-off as it were.

Thomas Dartmouth Rice, to give the actor his full name, was a eccentric and extravagant person. In the days of his footlight fam he wore a dress-coat with guineas for buttons, while his vest ha buttons studded with diamonds. Some of the other negro melodie associated with him were *Such a Gettin' up Stairs*, *Claire de Kitchen* and *Lucy Long*. His end, like that of many another favourite of th public, was poverty. Stricken with paralysis he could no longer amus and delight audiences. His money all spent, he could no longer earn

One of the plays written by Rice and performed by him in th United States was *Long Island Juba*. In Roman days, Juba was th name given to two Kings of Numidia, a country in the North of Afric surrounding the city of Carthage. It was a name carried over th years to the slave period in America when the term had reference to species of dance or breakdown practised by the plantation negroes o the southern United States, accompanied by clapping of the hands patting of the knees and thighs, striking of the feet on the floor, and refrain in which the word Juba was frequently repeated. Individual were also called Juba, particularly those who indulged in the negr dance. As a name, be it noted, there is a Juba in Prince Hoare's farc of *The Prize* acted in 1794. He is a comic " darkey " ; further bac is the Juba in Addison's tragedy of *Cato* in 1713, a tragedy in blan verse.

There was a Master Juba who appeared at the Melodeon Theatre i New York under the direction of Charles White, in February, 1848 He was a coloured youth and described by the management as th champion dancer of the world. Managements of the past were equall as prone to the superlative as the cinema magnate of to-day. Th Melodeon was advertised as being crowded nightly by people agog t see the boy's dancing feats. His most popular and spectacular offerin was labelled the famous Juba Dance, an item that had been arrange by the coloured composer, R. Nathanial Dett.

In June of that same year, Mr. Wardell, proprietor of the Vauxha Gardens in London, announced that he had brought to England party of six Americans to perform in the Rotunda Theatre attached t the Gardens and where, every summer, music, dancing, acrobatic an equestrian fare were offered to the public. The party of six gave

Nigger Minstrel Entertainment and among their number were G. W. Pell and a singer and dancer called, seemingly for the first time, "Boz's Juba." Minstrel shows had come into vogue in the early forties of the last century, when negro specialists banded together in fours, and sixes, and eights, to present their performances. The numbers in different troupes increased and increased for the next forty years. Sometimes there would be fifty or more of these black-faced comedians in a company and for several decades Negro Minstrelsy was the most popular of all stage entertainments. The Jim Crow of T. D. Rice had started the idea for this style of show and the early forties saw numerous companies of these specialists who were, it might be said, duplications of the original Jim Crow. Nigger Minstrels, with their beginnings in the United States, soon invaded England and one of the first of the troupes to reach London was that known as the Ethiopian Serenaders. At the St. James's Theatre the Serenaders were enormously successful, remaining there for a very extended season. Belonging to the organisation was G. W. Pell, famous as a player on the Bones. He was, undoubtedly, to be the lion of the company at the Vauxhall Gardens, but Boz's Juba, whom we must surely identify as the Master Juba of the Melodeon, was a newer attraction in the Minstrel field and scored considerably more than did the comparatively old-timer Pell. The boy was announced as the only negro performing as a Minstrel and it was stated that he was only in his seventeenth year.

The *Illustrated London News*, passing over the Bones-player, gave a rhapsodic notice to the young entertainer, a notice which is perhaps interesting in its reference to the nigger dances of that time. Albert Smith, the critic of the periodical, launched forth : "The only national dance that we really believe in as a fact is that of the Niggers. We mistrust the Cachucha—that is to say, whenever we have seen it performed by a real Spanish danseuse, we have always pronounced it far inferior to Duvernay's in the *Diable Boiteux*. We should never expect to see the Redowa danced in its own country . . . but the Nigger Dance is a reality. The Virginny Breakdown or the Alabama Kick-up, the Tennessee Double-Shuffle, or the Louisiana Toe-and-Heel, we know to exist. If they did not, how could Juba enter into their wonderful complications so naturally ? How could he tie his legs into such knots and fling them about so recklessly, or make his feet twinkle until you lose sight of them altogether in his energy ? The great Boz immortalised him ; and he deserved the glory thus conferred. If our readers doubt this, let them go the very next Monday or other evening that arrives and see him at Vauxhall Gardens. But Juba is a musician, as well as a dancer. To him the intricate management of the nigger tambourine is confined and from it he produces marvellous harmonies. We almost question whether, upon a great emergency, he could not play a fugue upon it."

Juba, in addition to dancing and playing the tambourine, sang nigger songs—mostly from the repertory of Rice. One of these was the popular *Lucy Long*, which he gave in character. A contemporary notice of him in this personation spoke of Lucy as "a most laughable type of the ebony belles of New York, arrayed in a pink dress, green parasol, blue bonnet and red boots. She was accompanied by Pell, equipped as a dandy Broadway swell, dressed in an equally extravagant style. Miss Lucy danced one of her indescribably ludicrous Ethiopian *pas*, in which agility and variety are not less wonderful than the perfect ease with which the more difficult terpsichorean feats are executed."

In Chapter VI of *American Notes*, Dickens mentions his visit to Almacks in New York and tells of a negro dance he witnessed at that establishment. Boz's description reads : " . . . suddenly the lively hero

dashes in to the rescue. Instantly the fiddler grins, and goes it tooth and nail; there is new energy in the tambourine; new laughter in the dancers; new smiles in the landlady; new confidence in the landlord; new brightness in the very candles. Single shuffle, double shuffle, cut and cross-cut; snapping his fingers, rolling his eyes, turning in his knees, presenting the backs of his legs in front, spinning about on his toes and heels like nothing but the man's fingers on the tambourine; dancing with two left legs, two right legs, two wooden legs, two wire legs, two spring legs—all sorts of legs and no legs—what is this to him? And in what walk of life, or dance of life, does man ever get such stimulating applause as thunders about him, when having danced his partner off her feet, and himself too, he finishes by leaping gloriously on the bar-counter, and calling for something to drink, with the chuckle of a million counterfeit Jim Crows, in one inimitable sound."

This self-same description was taken from the *Notes* and used in the bills for Vauxhall, setting forth the claim that Juba was the same person Boz had seen dance at Almacks six years previously. That was how the young negro arrived at his *nom de théâtre* of Boz's Juba. But if the dancer were sixteen when performing in 1848 at Vauxhall, he would be only ten when Dickens wrote about him. This certainly appears too juvenile a performance for the novelist not to have been struck by the child's virtuosity and to have mentioned it in his account of Almacks. Quite possibly Juba was a kind of Peter Pan, who refused to grow up. In an age of Infant Phenomena why should he not remain at sixteen for as many years as maybe? Another suggestion is that Juba may not have been the same coloured dancer who exhibited such vigorous footwork when Dickens visited the place. Perhaps feeling that the vivid description in *American Notes* applied very rightly to his own performance, he, or Manager Wardell, esteemed it good business to make use of the description when appealing to the public for patronage.

After Vauxhall, Boz's Juba, with G. W. Pell and T. F. Briggs, both of whom were niggers of the burnt-cork variety, toured the provinces in an entertainment termed an American Olio. In this he sang among other songs, *Walk along John*, *Stop dat Knocking* and the inevitable *Lucy Long*. The bills proclaimed him to be the only youth of colour ever before the public.

The Pell Serenaders with Boz's Juba were on the bill of the Surrey Theatre on Easter Monday, April 9th, 1849. It was a lengthy programme beginning with *Alhamar the Moor*, a new melodrama from the red-fire pen of Edward Fitzball with Tom Mead, Tom Lyon, Samuel Emery and Mrs. Stirling in the cast. This was followed by the Serenaders and the farce of *Cousin Cherry*. Then came Boz's Juba appearing alone, and the evening concluded with *Mother Goose*, the clown being Tom Mathews, hailed as the successor to the great Grimaldi in this old pantomime, now revived after a score of years. The Surrey be it noted, was the same playhouse where, in the previous decade T. D. Rice had introduced Jim Crow to the town.

Juba, some time later, separated from the two white black-faced vocalists and appeared as a single turn, here, there and everywhere. He gave his act, singing and dancing, between the plays at the minor theatres in London, and went round the Provinces with it. Pell, the original Bones, continued with his Minstrel Troupe, on and off, for a considerable time. In March, 1860, he was at the Standard Theatre, London, and in the company was the dancer, Frank Diamond. The name Diamond was one taken by several negro performers and, as Master Juba at one period seems to have been called Master Diamond, it may be presumed that the Frank Diamond at the Standard was Boz's Juba reverting to an earlier *nom de théâtre*.

THE COMPOSITION OF *DAVID COPPERFIELD*

By John Butt

Continued from Vol. XLVI, *page* 180

Part XV. July, 1850
Chapters XLIV-XLVI. "Half done" by June 6th, 1850

The contents of Part XIV dictate to a large extent the contents of Part XV. The reader, impatient to learn something of David's married life with Dora, is provided with ample detail of their housekeeping. "*Carry through incapacity of Dora—but affectionate*" is Dickens's direction; he does not add, "Carry through the contrast with Agnes," though there it is, discreetly maintained:

> "I wish," resumed my wife, after a long silence, "that I could have gone down into the country for a whole year, and lived with Agnes!"
> Her hands were clasped upon my shoulder, and her chin rested on them, and her blue eyes looked quietly into mine.
> "Why so?" I asked.
> "I think she might have improved me, and I think I might have learned from *her*," said Dora.

But the memoranda show that Dickens's first consideration was to finish off the Strong incidents, which he had left so favourably placed in Part XIV. We observe that "Mr. and Mrs. Strong. TO BE ADJUSTED. Mrs. Markleham—Mr. Jack Maldon" precedes "DAVID'S MARRIED LIFE" on the Number Plan, though Chapter XLIV describing "Our Housekeeping" was necessarily written first. The scene is set in Chapter XLV for a passionate explanation by Annie Strong, not indeed so passionate as Edith Dombey's, though almost equally obscure. But the value of the scene for Dickens's narrative purposes is clear enough and is succinctly stated in the notes on the right-hand side of the Number Plan, written in all probability after the chapter was completed:

> The explanation brought round by Mr. Dick
> Show the faults of mothers, and their consequences
> "No disparity in marriage like unsuitability of mind and purpose"—
> "Saved from the first mistaken impulse of an undisciplined heart"—
> "My love was founded on a rock."
> All brought to bear on David, and applied by him to himself—old unhappy feeling going by UPON THE WIND.

David's reflections are in keeping with Dickens's decision that Dora must die. Had his decision been different, we may question whether the Strong incidents would have been differently interpreted. Words which Annie Strong would have used would certainly have sounded with peculiar significance in David's ears, for that was the way Dickens worked. But we might not have heard of David being saved from the first mistaken impulse of an undisciplined heart.

The theme of the remaining chapter was chosen after some deliberation. The Number Plan shows that more than one topic was passed under review and deferred. First, "qy Mr. and Miss Murdstone? NO. CONSIDER FOR NEXT NO." Then, "qy Little Em'ly? and through Martha??" Nor, evidently, was this quite satisfactory. Then "qy My aunt's persecutor?* And any indication of Mr. Micawber in communication with her?—NO. CONSIDER FOR NEXT NO." Finally, "Mrs. Steerforth and Miss Dartle. CARRY STEERFORTH THROUGH BY MEANS OF THEM," and this is chosen, the

* Characteristically Dickens keeps the secret of this man's identity even in his papers

pursuit of Martha being picked up as a useful conclusion to the Number useful because it provides a natural opening for the next Monthly Part

The summary of Chapter XLVI on the right-hand side of the Numbe Plan reads as though it had been written after the chapter wa completed.

> Miss Dartle—Garden seat—Prospect
> respectable Mr. Littimer, and his account of Em'ly's having lef Steerforth, and why
> "Don't address yourself to me"—"Nor to me"—
> "You have no mother? It is a pity she would have been proud of yo closing prospect, and mist like a rising sea. Next time seen, sea risen.
>
> Then with Mr. Peggotty following Martha

That it was written after the completion of the chapter there is on piece of evidence to show. Chapter XLVI is unnamed in the manu script and so went to press, for the title "Intelligence" is added i proof. But this title stands at the head of the summary in the Numbe Plan. If the summary, with the title, had been written before th chapter was written, it is unlikely that the title would have bee omitted in the manuscript.

Part XVI. August, 1850
Chapters XLVII-L.

While at work on this Number Dickens wrote to the Rev. Jame White (July 13th, 1850), ". . . I have carefully planned out the story for some time past, to the end, and am making out my purposes wit great care." It is difficult to accept this statement without som qualifications. We have indeed observed that Dickens had foresee the implications of Dora's death and much of what was to occur a Yarmouth, but the Number Plans show that plenty of detail was lef to be arranged from month to month. In Part XVI there is ampl opportunity for such decisions. Two themes had been specifically deferred from the last Number; one, "Mr. and Miss Murdstone", i deferred yet again, but the other, "My Aunt's Persecutor", is accepte and dealt with briefly at the end of the first chapter, whose main theme the pursuit of Martha and through her of Em'ly, had already bee determined by the manner in which Part XV was concluded. Wit this disposed of in the first chapter, the way is open for Em'ly's re appearance, and this also is decided upon in the memoranda: "Littl Em'ly and Mr. Peggotty. qy. TO CLOSE THE N^{O} WITH HER DIS COVERY? YES." But how and where she is to be discovered i yet undetermined. Dickens had prepared in Part XI for a scene i which Rosa Dartle loads Em'ly with reproaches, yet the next entry i the Number Plan ("qy Omer and Joram? NO") suggests that h was toying with the idea of staging her discovery in Yarmouth, or a least of bringing her straight back there from London, for we mus remember that Mr. Oram was physically incapable of leaving his shop In the end Dickens decides to stage the discovery in London and t leave the return to Yarmouth for a future Number.

* A summary of the following passage in the text:
As I moved away from them along the terrace, I could not help observing how steadil they both sat gazing on the prospect, and how it thickened and closed around them. He and there, some early lamps were seen to twinkle in the distant city; and in the easter quarter of the sky the lurid light still hovered. But, from the greater part of the broa valley interposed, a mist rising like the sea, which, mingling with the darkness, made seem as if the gathering waters would encompass them. I have reason to remember thi and think of it with awe: for before I looked upon these two again, a stormy sea had rise to their feet.
This use of a premonitory cluster of images, all foreshadowing the scene at Yarmouth Part XVIII, resembles the poet's art, or even the musician's, more closely than the novelist'

Yet, although these points demanded Dickens's attention, it is clear from the Number Plan that his mind was primarily occupied with other matters. The "unravelling of Uriah Heep" is to be "carried through"—"always by Mr. Micawber"—carried, in fact, to a point at which it can be completed in a later Number. "Carry through, also, the married life" he writes; "Dora in declining health. First intimation? YES." The question was one of timing. Should Dora begin to decline now or in a later Number? That Dickens could ask the question at all shows that he must have considered postponing her decline. He might have reckoned that marriage with Agnes could take place in Part XIX/XX, Dora's death in Part XVIII, and her decline in Part XVII, but reflection seems to have shewn him that there was much to be related besides these episodes, and that a rather longer interval between Dora's death and David's second marriage would be suitable.

The unusually large number of corrections in the manuscript are evidence of the trouble Dickens took in adjusting the melodramatic scene of Em'ly's discovery. Nor was he finally satisfied when he sent the manuscript to the printer, for he found a good deal to change in proof. Besides some short additions to Rosa Dartle's part, he altered the timing of Mr. Peggotty's arrival. In the manuscript Mr. Peggotty heard the last of Rosa Dartle's fulmination and waited till it was over:

> Mr. Peggotty waited until she was gone, as if his duty were too sacred to be discharged in such a presence, and then passed into the room.

This was cancelled in proof and the following short paragraph substituted for it:

> The foot upon the stairs came nearer—nearer—passed her as she went down—rushed into the room!

PART XVII. SEPTEMBER, 1850
Chapters LI-LIII. Completed August 21st or 22nd, 1850.

"I hope I shall have a splendid number;" Dickens wrote to Forster on August 13th, 1850, "I feel the story to its minutest point." The sparseness of the memoranda on the Number Plan reflects this confidence. All that we find on the left-hand side is:

> Dora to die in THIS No.? Yes. AT THE END. "I want to speak to Agnes." alone with her, before dying.
> *Smash Uriah Heep, by means of Mr. Micawber.*
> MR. MICAWBER TRIUMPHANT. restored to Mrs. Micawber's arms.
> BROUGHT FROM LAST NO. OMER & JORAM? YES.
> MR. AND MISS MURDSTONE? NOT YET.

However much care he needed to exercise over detail, the planning of this Number can have caused him little concern. Dora's death, once settled, must take place in the last chapter (LIII), while the first chapter was already earmarked for the continuation of Em'ly's story, with a visit to Yarmouth to collect characters for the emigration and to make a final parting with Omer and Joram. There remained the middle chapter to fill. But Dickens was already pledged by Mr. Micawber's last letter in Chapter XLIX to unveil Uriah Heep at the earliest possible moment. The appointment for David to meet Mr. Micawber was for "this day week" and could therefore scarcely be deferred until Part XVIII. There was no need to consider deferment, however, since the exposure of cunning by those two innocents in the ways of the world, Micawber and Traddles, makes a contrast of mood with the chapters before and after it such as Dickens loves to provide.

Part XVIII. October, 1850
Chapters LIV-LVII.

Finished between September 17th and 22nd, 1850.

The Number Plan for Part XVIII* shows two small items to b disposed of before Dickens could apply his mind to the main episode " The Emigration N° ". Finishing off Uriah, recovering Aunt Betsey' money, settling the Micawbers' affairs, and disposing of Aunt Betsey' husband is enough work for one chapter, and this as a business chapte must come first. The emigration itself must take the most impressiv place at the end of the Number. Thus Dickens is left with the centra chapter for the disposal of Steerforth in the great storm for which w have been prepared from the first Number of all. On further reflectio Dickens found that two chapters were required, since the tension o the " Tempest " chapter could not decently be lowered by David' breaking the news to Mrs. Steerforth and Rosa Dartle.

No scene in the book was given such meticulous preparation as th Storm scene. The Number Plan shows that Dickens first sketched th outline of events on the left-hand side, taking care not to forget tha most important effect of which we have already noticed several anticipa tions : " TO REMEMBER—the last parting—' He was lying easily wit his head upon his arm '." Then he seems to have turned to th right-hand side to make note of the details to be used, drawing for then upon a storm which conveniently rose " at Broadstairs here, las night ".† The labour involved in writing this scene is conveyed by letter to Forster of September 15th : " I have been tremendously a work these two days," Dickens writes ; " eight hours at a stretc yesterday, and six hours and a half to-day, with the Ham an Steerforth chapter, which has completely knocked me over." Tw days later he told Wills that " my most powerful effect in all the stor [is still] on the Anvil ". Thus this chapter occupied at least four day in the writing.

When proofs arrived, Dickens found that though he had writte thirty sheets of manuscript, the last page of proof was no more tha one-third full. So he proceeded to fill it. Perhaps we should expec that additions could most conveniently be made in the last chapte

* The notes on the left-hand side read :

To finish from last No.—Uriah
To bring up—Mr. and Miss Murdstone ? No. LAST NO.
THE EMIGRATION NO.—Mr. Peggotty
Mrs. Gummidge
Em'ly
Martha
Mr. Micawber
Mrs. Micawber
The children
Agnes. Carry through.
Ham and Steerforth. Steerforth in a sinking ship in a great storm in Yarmouth Roads. Ham goes off, in a lifeboat,—or with a rope round his waist ?—through the surf. Both bodies washed ashore together ?
No.
A mighty wind.
TO REMEMBER—the last parting—" He was lying easily with his head upon his arm."
Mrs. Micawber—Her " family " and " never will desert Mr. Micawber."
CLOSE WITH DAVID GOING ON A TOUR ABROAD.
/ LAPSE BETWEEN THIS NO. AND THE NEXT /

The notes on the right-hand side read :

CHAPTER LV
MR. MICAWBER'S TRANSACTIONS
Mr. and Mrs. Micawber.
Her family.
Uriah Heep's business finished.
Mr. Micawber arrested—OVER AND OVER AGAIN
My aunt's money recovered. SHE COMPOSED
Her husband, " He is gone, Trot, *God forgive us all* "
CHAPTER LV.

† *The Times* weather reports for September 10th-20th record no storms during this perio

In the first place, additions made there would create least disturbance for the printer to rectify. Secondly, additional Micawberisms were most readily supplied. At all events he decided to make no more than one adjustment in the earlier chapters, merely the omission of a macabre yet characteristic detail at the end of the third paragraph of Chapter LVI,* and applied himself to embellishing the last moments of the Micawbers. The four passages added in proof are the following: (1) "Mr. Micawber considered it necessary to prepare either my aunt . . . 'And she sails— ' "; (2) "'The loss, Micawber,' observed his wife . . . no genial warmth frozen by me ' "; (3) "'My dear Miss Trotwood,' she replied . . . an opportunity of writing "; (4) "'The connexion in question, my love,' rejoined Mr. Micawber . . . the connexion between yourself and Albion '."

TEMPEST.
David goes down to Yarmouth with letter from Emily to Ham
The Storm
The Wind—The Spray—the coming to the sea
The Town, Flying sand, seaweed, and FLAKES OF FOAM / *seen*
Wreck. BELL *at Broadstairs here, last night.* Flying
Boat blown down in blotches.
I saw him lying with his head upon his arm, as I had often seen him lie at school.
CHAPTER LVI
Two chapters here. THE NEW WOUND AND THE OLD
Home to Mrs. Steerforth & Rosa Dartle.
"I loved him better than you ever did! I loved him better than you ever did!" Mother, a mere statue.
CHAPTER LVII
THE EMIGRANTS arrested again. Hungerford
Her family. *Punch*
The Micawbers, Preparation and Nauticality Tween Decks
Close with Emily & her uncle

The Number ends with a last sight of Em'ly with her uncle, "surrounded by the rosy light, and standing high upon the deck, apart together, she clinging to him, and he holding her." This marks an unusual change in purpose, for Dickens's direction on the Number Plan reads: "CLOSE WITH DAVID GOING ON A TOUR ABROAD." But the calm symbolic lights of the concluding picture as it stands could scarcely be improved, Em'ly suffused by the rosy expectations of a new life overseas, David returning to the darkness of his widowhood. Second thoughts were no doubt best.

PART XIX/XX. NOVEMBER, 1850
Chapters LVIII-LXIV.

Begun September 22nd, completed before October 23rd.

Though the last Number Plan is densely covered with memoranda, they require little comment. The problem of planning was almost entirely one of order. It was not difficult to decide which characters should be brought on for the last time. Everyone of importance is remembered, even such a distant acquaintance as Mr. Chillip, and of all the characters canvassed on the Number Plan only the Dover donkeys fail to appear. It was not much more difficult to decide how the characters should be introduced. David, of course, comes first: "After Lapse—dreamily described—in Italy, &c. / David to come from abroad / All his love for Agnes and all her love for him to be worked out." Then Traddles:

Traddles married, & living in chambers. Himself and his wife putting themselves to all kinds of inconvenience for her sisters

* Steerforth's body has been covered by a flag—"While I tried to consider what it would be best to do, the wind plucked at the flag, as if it were eager to get underneath and see its work."

Then Uriah Heep, though here we see that the first sketch needed altering :

> Uriah Heep " a Pet Prisoner "—continually singing hymns and exhorting who visits him—regarded as a model Penitent—but quite true to himself & exactly the same infernal scoundrel as ever.
> His mother, ditto. Never were people so " umble ".
> NO. CHANGE THAT. Let him profess to be converting her.

Then follows a string of names, with a note, subsequently discarded that " What Dora said to Agnes [should] . . . come out at *last*."

The problem was to decide in which order these characters and episodes should occur. Two versions are preserved on the Number Plan, neither of which was strictly adhered to. Possibly the version written at the foot of the Number Plan was the earlier of the two. It reads :

> Transition state
> returns home ? Murdstone's ? Agnes ?
> Agnes 1
> Traddles and his wife
> Interesting Penitents & Miss Moucher ?
> Agnes 2. and marriage
> Visitor ?
> Mrs. Steerforth and Rosa ?
> Last Retrospect.

Perhaps too much intervened between the first and second visits to Agnes, and perhaps the Murdstones, Miss Mowcher, Mrs. Steerforth and Rosa appeared too prominent. Those seem to have been the defects in this order of events, and they were remedied in the much briefer revised order, but at the expense of omitting Traddles and his wife as well. The revised order reads :

> Absence
> Return
> Agnes
> Interesting Penitents
> Agnes
> Visitor
> Retrospect.

Presumably it was while writing the first chapter that Dickens recognised how suitable it would be to strike the note of domestic happiness with Traddles and his wife immediately upon David's return to London. The Murdstones and Miss Mowcher are kept off the stage and Mrs. Steerforth and Rosa take a more modest place in the last retrospect. If Dickens had jotted down his final order, it would have read something like this :

> Absence
> Traddles and his wife. Mr. Chillip's report of the Murdstones.
> Agnes 1
> Penitents
> Agnes 2
> Visitor
> Retrospect.

On October 21st, 1850, Dickens reported to Forster that he was " within three pages of the shore ". Two days later the great work was finished, and the last chapter, the preface, and a page of errata were sent off to Evans for printing.

(*Concluded*)

MY FAVOURITE WOMAN CHARACTER—SNEVELLICCI

By F. A. Postlethwaite

I

WHEN, only too conscious of imperfect knowledge, I endeavour to cast an eye over the whole splendid range of woman characters in Dickens—from Arabella Allen to Helena Landless, from Little Nell to Rosa Bud—and ask which of them all I would choose as life companion, I make a surprising discovery; surprising at any rate to me. The days when I found Bella Wilfer irresistible are gone; I am still very loyal to Dolly Varden, in spite of her mother; Amy Dorritt is good, though not immune from the charge of dullness; I will not dispute the claims made for Ruth Pinch; I admire Emma Haredale—I am attracted by Edith Dombey. But from a severely practical aspect I prefer—Snevellicci, the little actress in Mr. Crummles's company.

"Practical?" it will be said; "an actress"! And so it may be confessed at once that I do not ignore the aesthetic side of her character, to which in fact I am peculiarly susceptible, like the bridegroom in Pinero's *Trelawny of the Wells*, who is so overpowered by the "talents—great talents" of the theatrical guests at the farewell cold collation that when he rises to speak he can do little more than murmur those words brokenly before sitting down amid thunderous applause. I have often felt the same when passing the portals of broadcasting houses.

Of Miss Snevellicci's actual artistic abilities we are almost as ignorant as we are of her Christian name, which not even her faithful "Led'" betrays. Pathos and romance in tights were evidently the leading features. Nicholas thought her performance "uncommonly good", and Crummles said, "She's a genius, quite a genius." That exacting critic, Mr. Curdle, who demanded "the unities, a completeness, a kind of universal dovetailedness with regard to place and time, a sort of a general oneness", was explicit in excepting Miss Snevellicci from his criticism. The "good-natured Mrs. Borum" found her "too affecting sometimes. You do put me in such a state; into such fits of crying!" But she would go to the play twice a week if she could. The "young officer" prominently displayed in Phiz's picture of The Great Bespeak was "supposed to entertain a passion for Miss Snevellicci" and he manfully stuck his glass in his eye "as though to hide a tear". But it was not all sob-stuff; there were "certain love passages" between the desponding captive and Miss Snevellicci, who donned tights and "repaired to the prison of her captive lover with a small basket of refreshments and a dark lantern". And when all is said and done we can hardly surpass the poetic tribute:

> Sing, God of Love, and tell me in what dearth
> Thrice-gifted Snevellicci came on earth
> To thrill us with her smile, her tear, her eye;
> Sing, God of Love, and tell me quickly why,

in which the rather shaky start is wholly redeemed by the almost hysterical conclusion.

Yes, there is no doubt that she was a successful little leading lady.

II

So far as Nicholas Nickleby himself is concerned, I am not quite satisfied with his attitude to Miss Snevellicci. Mr. Snevellicci, it will be remembered, became quite indignant about it, though his indignation was not shared by his wife and daughter, and I myself offer no excuse for his fit of temper. Nicholas had recently had an unpleasant experience in the salon at Dotheboys Hall, from which he had drawn the

conclusion that he must beware of his " cursed readiness " to adapt himself to any society into which chance carried him ; and this must be his excuse for what I must confess seems to me rather unfeeling behaviour in regard to Miss Snevellicci. Not that I expect him to fall head over heels in love with her, as he did with Madeline Bray and was quite capable of doing with a hundred other women who would have made him unhappy ; I am not satisfied with his general attitude, which is not so much cavalier as supercilious ; not, of course, either, that he can well be expected to be anything else, being what he is, an admirable young fellow but inexperienced. So far as Nicholas is concerned, I do not bite my thumb at him, but—I bite my thumb. For it was not really he who had all the superiority. " ' I assure you ', said Miss Snevellicci, taking his arm " (and most charming it was of her to do so—you will observe the arm was not offered) " ' that I think myself very lucky they did not owe all the money instead of being sixpence short. Now, if you were to succeed, they would give people to understand that they had always patronised you ; and if you were to fail they would have been quite certain of that from the very beginning. ' " How level-headed, and how free from empty chatter and sycophancy the cool contemplation of possible failure as well as success. A good-hearted little thing.

So there we are ; and we see that this charming and talented young artiste was practical as well as devoted. There is not the slightest doubt that Nicholas missed an opportunity when he did not even consider the possibility of marrying Miss Snevellicci—who almost certainly would have accepted his offer. Consider the ethical code outlined jointly by Miss Snevellicci and Miss Ledrook for the consolation and support of Miss Petowker on her imminent marriage :

1. How very proud she ought to feel that it was in her power to confer lasting bliss on a deserving object.
2. How necessary it was for the happiness of mankind in general that women should possess fortitude and resignation on such occasions.
3. Though for their parts they held true happiness to consist in a single life, they hoped they knew their duty too well to repine but would the rather submit with meekness and humility of spirit to a fate for which Providence had clearly designed them with a view to the contentment and reward of their fellow-creatures.

Such high sentiments would have made Oliver Cromwell envious. But, to return to the severely practical note with which this brief suggestion began, what a brilliantly successful mother-in-law Nicholas would have had in Mrs. Snevellicci. I am not so certain about Mr. Snevellicci as father-in-law, but one must take the rough with the smooth, and quite possibly the one would not have been so self-effacing without the occasional aggressiveness of the other. " And an uncommonly fine man Miss Snevellicci's papa was, with a hook nose and a white forehead and curly black hair and altogether quite a handsome face " (quite a John Bull in fact) " only a little pimply as though with drinking ". How could one be cross for long with a man who in his cups had only to swallow another glass to lose all signs of pugnacity and propose " ' The ladies. Bless their hearts ' in a most vivacious manner ". Contrast him with that mean misery, Mr. Lillyvick, so justly punished for his vanity and presumption.

But, as Artemus Ward remarked : " She married another ; they frequently do " ; and she did not have to wait long either. I am sure she made happy and was ever devoted to the " affluent young wax-chandler who had supplied the theatre with candles ". Yes, although I know this may be disputed, I think in the Dickens gallery she holds a high place ; in fact, I am sure she does.

NOTES ON
Sketches by Boz

By T. W. Hill

Continued from Vol. XLVI, *page* 213

V—Seven Dials

(*Bell's Life*, September 27th, 1835)

1. SEVEN DIALS. This district was laid out as " Seven Streets " late in the seventeenth century. The seven streets converge on a small open space in the centre of which was erected a Doric column surmounted by a stone with *six* dials as two of the streets open into one angle of the centre space. The column was taken down in 1773 and lay neglected near Chertsey till 1822, when it was re-erected on the Green at Weybridge, where it still stands ; the dial-stone, defaced and with its directions no longer legible, lies on the Green not far away.

2. TOM KING AND THE FRENCHMAN. Tom King kept a coffee-shed under the portico of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden ; Hogarth pictured it in his " Morning." The Frenchman was Monsieur Tonson in a humorous poem of that title by John Taylor (1757-1832), and W. T. Moncrieff based a farce upon it (1821).

3. CATNACH. James Catnach (1792-1841) of 2 Monmouth Court, Seven Dials, printer of chapbooks and broadsheets in duodecimo size. He published children's books at one farthing each. The British Museum possesses two bound volumes containing more than 4,000 ballads printed by him.

4. PITTS. Catnach's great rival as a printer of street literature was " Johnny " Pitts, who was also a toy and marble merchant of 6 Gt. St. Andrew Street.

5. PENNY YARDS OF SONG. A good description of the broadsheets alluded to above ; one publisher announced " Songs : three yards a penny."

6. GORDIAN KNOT. Figurative for any very difficult (" knotty ") problem. From the story of Gordius, a poor peasant who became king of Phrygia. The pole of his waggon was fastened to the yoke by a knot of bark, so securely tied that no one could undo it. An oracle declared that whosoever should succeed in untying the knot would reign all over Asia. Alexander, on his arrival at Gordium, cut the knot with his sword and applied the prophecy to himself.

7. MAZE AT HAMPTON COURT. This was constructed in the reign of King William III in the Wilderness, that is a part of a large estate that in the Dutch system of laying out a garden was considered indispensable ; it was supposed to be left to grow wild, and so it was in contrast to the rest of the very formal layout ; actually it was well under control.

8. MAZE AT THE BEULAH SPA. This minor place of recreation at Norwood was opened in 1831 and lasted for only about twenty years. Among its attractions was a wilderness and maze on quite a small scale and the key to the puzzle was very simple and not nearly so formidable as that of the maze at Hampton Court. Beulah Spa is again referred to in the story of Mr. Watkins Tottle (Tales, X). Its site is now marked by a modern public-house.

9. BELZONI. Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778-1823) came into the public eye first as an entertainer ; he was very tall (about 6 ft. 6 in.) and immensely strong and specialised as a weight-lifter. Then he went abroad as an explorer among the antiquities of Egypt and opened up many of the ancient tombs, etc. Among his finds was the sarcophagus of Seti I, now in the Soane Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields. This extract from one of his narratives gives point to Dickens's allusion to him : ". . . a large space into which many other holes and cavities opened . . . we entered one of them."

10. THREE-OUTS OF GIN AND BITTERS. That is three-pennyworth, the usual price of the noggin. Half this quantity was called a " go," and many gin-shops were known as " Go-shops." The bitters were orange-bitters, an infusion from orange-pips.

11. KYE-BOSK. Now spelt Kibosh or Kybosh, a slang word for a check, an utter defeat. It became current early in the nineteenth century, nobody knows whence, although it has been suggested that its origin is Yiddish. A

recent suggestion is that it is a corruption of gaelic, *caidhp bais*, meaning "cap of death."

12. NIVER MIND. A whole paragraph in Chapter XXIV of the *Pickwick Papers* is devoted to an explanation of the implications of this expression.

13. EVERY POST. These iron posts were originally introduced to prevent wheeled traffic from intruding on to the footpath. Many of them were disused army and navy cannon, buried breech downwards and had the shot in the muzzle.

14. THROUGH ST. GILES'S. That is through High Street, which was the main road from London to the west before New Oxford Street was constructed in 1849. See also Scenes XI, note 12.

15. BLUCHER BOOTS. The pattern of footwear supposed to have been worn by Marshal Blucher; they contrasted with Wellingtons, as the latter were high in the leg while Bluchers were low.

16. BIRD-FANCIERS, ETC. Seven Dials has always been noted for naturalists' shops and a few still survive. Small bowls of gold-fish used to be one of the chief attractions, and the writer remembers one low-fronted shop whose window was piled with cuttle-fish "bones" in much demand by people who delight to confine canaries and other birds in cages.

17. REFUGES FOR DESTITUTE BUGS. A truly Dickensian conceit; it appears in another form in *Pickwick Papers*, Chapter VIII: "There was a bower . . . one of those sweet retreats which humane men erect for the accommodation of spiders." And again in *Great Expectations*, Chapter XXI, where Barnard's Inn is "the dingiest collection of shabby buildings ever squeezed together in a rank corner as a club for Tom-cats."

18. "INCREASE AND MULTIPLY." Although this appears in inverted commas, it is not a quotation from Scripture. The actual words will be found in Genesis I, 28: "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." An identical command was given to Noah and his sons after the deluge (see Genesis IX, 1.

19. IN THE BAKED "JEMMY" LINE. A purveyor of cheap food. A "jemmy" is a sheep's head. The word is a friendly and familiar contraction of James, and this connection signifies a kind of intimate relationship between the food and the consumer.

20. WRITES POEMS FOR MR. WARREN. Warren was the proprietor of the blacking-warehouse where Dickens worked for some months as a boy. A few years later in *The Old Curiosity Shop* Mrs. Jarley's tame poet bore the name of Mr. Slum. Here we have some clue to his place of residence.

VI—Meditations in Monmouth Street

(*Morning Chronicle*, September 24th.
Evening Chronicle, September 26th, 1836)

1. MONMOUTH STREET. This street was the boundary of Seven Dials on the north-west and ran from Little East Street to High Holborn. Its name was changed about 1840 to Dudley Street and it was finally incorporated in Shaftesbury Avenue when that thoroughfare was constructed in 1886.

2. HOLYWELL STREET. A narrow street almost entirely devoted to the second-hand book trade with a few eating-houses, that ran behind a block of shops extending from the present Gladstone Memorial in the Strand westwards to the church of St. Mary le Strand. The frontage of Australia House occupies its site. The block of houses was demolished in 1897 as part of the great scheme of improvement that occupied sixty years and culminated in the construction of Kingsway and Aldwych and their opening in 1905. What Holywell Street was to the second-hand book trade, Monmouth Street was to the second-hand clothes trade.

3. LACED COAT. The cant name for a garment bought in Monmouth Street was a Monmouth Street Laced Coat.

4. LACE-UP HALF-BOOTS. Boots reaching nearly half-way up the shin but not so far as a top-boot.

5. PAIR OF TOPS. Boots with a high top of a different colour from that of the boot and made to look as if turned down. Usually shortened to "tops."

6. KNEE CORDS. Corduroy breeches reaching just below the knee and fastened with a strap or a tied bow.

7. DENMARK SATIN SHOES. Denmark satin is a coarse worsted stuff with a smooth surface giving a silken finish. It was made in many shades of colour.

8. HAMMERSMITH SUSPENSION BRIDGE. At that time a new structure having been built in 1827. It was replaced by the present bridge in 1887.

9. CLOTH BOOTS . . . LIST SHOES . . . PUMPS. This and the following paragraphs contain one of the little vignette sketches of which Dickens was such a master. See also note 1 to Our Parish, VII. This faculty has been described as a " brilliant yet broad notation of life " and as " Dickens's delight early and late."

10. BARREL ORGANS. The original barrel-organ consisted of (*a*) a set of tuned pipes, (*b*) a pair of bellows, and (*c*) a pin-studded cylinder revolved by (*d*) a handle. Its tone was melancholy, but not more irritating than the raucous tones of its successor, the piano-organ, in which the sustained tones were effected by a rapid repetition of the notes.

VII—HACKNEY-COACH STANDS

(*Evening Chronicle*, January 31st, 1835)

1. HACKNEY COACH. Many are the mentions of hackney coaches in all Dickens's works and this Sketch provides a sort of preliminary study of the whole subject. Hackney-coach is the technical name for a coach plying for hire. All licensed vehicles, including omnibuses, hold a hackney-carriage licence.

2. REGULAR WATERMEN. These licensed attendants at hackney-carriage stands or ranks have disappeared with the introduction of motor traction. Their badges are alluded to in Scenes II.

3. MR. MARTIN OF COSTERMONGER NOTORIETY. Richard Martin (1754-1834), M.P., and co-founder of the R.S.P.C.A. He introduced the Act for Protecting the Rights of Animals, 1822, and " brought before the magistrates every case he thought to come within its provisions " (D.N.B.), and was popularly known as " Humanity Martin." A well-known comic song referred to him :

> " If I had a donkey wot wouldn't go,
> D'ye think I'd wallop him ? No, no, no.
> But gentle mean I'd try, d'ye see,
> Because I hate all cruelty.
> If all had been like me, in fact,
> There's have been no occasion for Martin's Act,
> Dumb animals to prevent bein' crack'd
> On the head."

There is a spice of cockney mocking facetiousness in it. Mrs. Jarley's poet, Mr. Slum, travestied the song in the *Old Curiosity Shop*. Thomas Hood addressed an Ode to Mr. Martin hailing him as " Thou Wilberforce of hacks." See also *The Dickensian*, 1930.

4. UNDER THE VERY WINDOW. At the time Dickens was writing (1835) he was living at Furnivall's Inn, and there was in Holborn a hackney-coach stand, now a cab-rank.

5. FADED COAT OF ARMS. Many of the early hackney-coaches were disused carriages of the nobility and some of them retained the coat-of-arms painted on the door-panel, as well as the hammer-cloth for the driver. It will be noted that the colour of the vehicle was dingy yellow. Yellow was affected by the well-to-do ; Mr. Podsnap had a custard-coloured phaeton, and Mr. Boffin adopted the same colour when he came into his fortune. (See *Our Mutual Friend*, Chapters IX and XI of Book I.)

6. SMALL BLACK BOTTLE AND PAPER OF SANDWICHES. Up till quite late in the nineteenth century no journey, however short, was undertaken without a supply of refreshment for the traveller. The writer remembers a gentleman in the '80s and '90s who travelled daily by train between Richmond and London, nearly ten miles occupying about fifty minutes, and invariably carried a small flask of brandy which he sipped occasionally to fortify himself against the rigours of the journey. But then, in his young days, he had been used to coach travelling.

7. GOLDEN CROSS. This refers to the second Golden Cross, erected in 1832 opposite Northumberland House, some little distance east of the original inn that occupied a site near the base of the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square. The inn-yard was closed in 1851 and the inn finally demolished in 1931.

8. FITZROY SQUARE. A handsome square designed by the brothers Adam about 1790-94 ; it was inhabited largely by artists and literary men, but degenerated into a refuge for more or less indigent aliens living in apartments.

9. BERLIN GLOVES. Gloves knitted from Berlin wool; they remained in fashion till nearly the end of the nineteenth century.

10. THE NUMBER ON THE DOOR. A delightful touch. The number of the licence was on the official plate at the back of the vehicle, that on the frame of the door was only the owner's private number in his own register.

11. A SHILLING A MILE. The standard minimum rate a century ago.

12. CAB IS A THING OF YESTERDAY. This does not mean, of course, that the cab was a thing of the past and obsolete, but that it had only recently been introduced when the Sketch was written.

VIII—Doctors' Commons

(*Morning Chronicle*, October 11th.
Evening Chronicle, October 12th, 1836)

1. DOCTORS' COMMONS. Dickens was writing this Sketch from personal experience as he was a reporter here only a year or two before. This account can be referred to for details whenever Doctors' Commons is mentioned in the later novels as for instance in *Pickwick Papers* and *David Copperfield*. It was closed in 1867 when the High Court of Justice was removed to Westminster and afterwards demolished, but this was long after the date of this Sketch.

2. PAUL'S CHAIN. This curious street-name marks the site of a chain or barrier that in the Middle Ages was drawn across the carriage-way of St. Paul's churchyard to stop traffic and ensure quiet during the hours of divine service. In 1890 it lost its identity by being included, with Bennet Hill, in Godliman Street.

3. APPARITOR. An usher, but Dickens would have know him under his latin name.

4. BRAZEN COLOSSUS. The attitude, with legs apart, often assumed by men of a certain aggressive or pompous type, is sometimes connected with the ancient Colossus of Rhodes, from the mistaken idea that that huge figure straddled the harbour. This is extremely doubtful, but the continuation of the fable has its uses.

IX—London Recreations

(*Evening Chronicle*, March 17th, 1835)

1. ALMACK'S. A very exclusive and expensive Assembly Rooms in King Street, St. James's. The habitués thought nothing of returning to their homes in the early hours of the following morning. It is mentioned (very appropriately) in the story of Horatio Sparkins (Tales V).

2. HACKNEY, CLAPTON, ETC. See Scenes I, note 10.

3. HAMPSTEAD ROAD OR THE KILBURN ROAD. Both of these thoroughfares have long since lost the character Dickens gives them, as most of the houses have been either converted or rebuilt as shops and business premises.

4. GIN-AND-WATER WARM WITH———. That is, with sugar which had to be asked for. In the *Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green* by Cuthbert Bede, B.A. [Rev. Edward Bradley] (1853) Mr. Bouncer asked his friends if they would have their grog "callidum cum" or "frigidum sine." In *Nicholas Nickleby* in the story told on the road to Yorkshire, Dickens facetiously names the hero The Baron von Koëldwethout.

5. LITTLE HAND-CHAISES. A kind of small chair on wheels, the forerunners of the modern perambulator.

X—The River

(*Evening Chronicle*, June 6th, 1835)

This Sketch provides a general introduction to Dickens's many references to the Thames, of which his knowledge was profound. Nearly every one of his novels has some reference to London's river and its fascination; in *Our Mutual Friend* and *Great Expectations* especially the Thames is a vital part of the narrative.

1. RED-US. The Red House, built of red brick as may be guessed from its name, had tea-gardens attached to it on the Surrey side of Chelsea Reach nearly opposite Chelsea Hospital. Here the sport of pigeon-shooting was pursued in addition to the usual attractions, with a fair on Sundays. It backed upon Battersea Fields, and when these were laid out as Battersea Park in 1846-64, it was purchased for £18,000 and then disappeared.

2. THE PENITENTIARY. This was the early name of Millbank Prison, erected in 1813. It was closed in 1890 and three years later was pulled down to make a site for the Tate Gallery, opened in 1897.

3. SEARLE'S YARD. At one time a celebrated centre of boat-building; it was here that the Royal State Barge was kept (it is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum). It was situated approximately where Doulton's Porcelain Factory now is and disappeared when the Albert Embankment was constructed in 1866-69. There was also a yard belonging to Searle's where St. Thomas's Hospital now stands.

4. GUERNSEY SHIRTS. Guernsey and Jersey seem to be interchangeable names for the closely-knitted tunic worn by sailors, athletes and others.

5. DEFUNCT OYSTER-SWALLOWER . . . DANDO. John Dando was a greedy rascal with an inordinate appetite for oysters. His idiosyncracy was to enter a coffee-house, consume huge quantities—he thought nothing of eight or ten dozen—of oysters and then vanish without paying for them and apparently the shopkeeper had no redress. *The Times* of August 20th, 1930, records one unsuccessful prosecution. He died in Clerkenwell prison and his name was for years the generic term for a glutton.

6. OLD SPELLING-BOOKS . . . MR. DILLWORTH. Thomas Dillworth wrote *A New Guide to the English Tongue* (1812) to which the frontispiece is a portrait of the author wearing a head-dress resembling an elaborate night-cap. Hence the allusion.

7. WHEN THE "ROYAL GEORGE" WENT DOWN. This catastrophe occurred on August 29th, 1782, in Portsmouth Harbour. Over 1,000 people were drowned, including Admiral Kempenfeldt, officers, crew, and women and children visiting the ship. Cowper wrote a poem commemorating the event.

8. TOWARDS WESTMINSTER BRIDGE . . . DIRECTION OF VAUXHALL. Searle's yard was nearer to Westminster than it was to Vauxhall and the party should have started by pulling upstream; hence the confusion.

9. TWO POTS TO A PINT. Pot was the usual name for a quart measure, so the odds were equivalent to 4 to 1.

10. WHARF OF THE LONDON BRIDGE, ETC. These wharves are little used to-day for passenger steamers, which mostly start from the Old Swan Pier, about seventy years old. London Bridge Wharf is below bridge and St. Katharine's Wharf is below Tower Bridge and adjoins the entrance to the St. Katharine's Dock.

11. SALLIES TO THE CHIMNEY. It was indeed a veritable chimney in the early days of steamers as it was tall and slender, compared with the modern funnel, which is properly named, as funnel means in Latin to pour, and certainly smoke does pour out from the boilers below deck.

12. CORPORATION ACT. This governed the administration of the river that came under the authority of the City of London Corporation. The Port of London Authority established 1909, superseded all lesser undertakings.

13. DUMBLEDUMDEARY. From the context this appears to be the name of a dance, but properly Dumbledumdeary is a droning kind of refrain, technically a burden or bourdon, to old songs with many verses; a sort of Fol-di-rol or Fal-lal-la. There was a song of the period called Dumble Dum Deary. The first verse runs:

"Last New Year's morn, as I've heard say
Richard he mounted his Dobbin gray,
And away he rode from Taunton Dean
To court the Parson's daughter Jane,
Singing Dumble dum deary,
Dumble dum deary,
Dumble dum deary,
Dumble dum dee."

XI—ASTLEYS

(*Evening Chronicle*, May 9th, 1835)

Another Sketch that may be considered as an introduction to later treatment of the same theme, although of course that was not probably in the mind of the author. Compare the whole paper with the account of Sleary's Horse Riding in *Hard Times*.

1. ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE. Astley's, close to Westminster Bridge, was started by Philip Astley, a cavalry soldier, in 1774, and a few years later became The Royal Saloon or Astley's Amphitheatre. It was burnt down

twice (1794 and 1803) but rebuilt each time on a grander scale. It lasted with varying fortunes till 1893, when it was finally pulled down and a petrol station now occupies the site.

2. DUCROW. Andrew Ducrow (1793-1842) was a renowned equestrian who kept his own stud of trained horses, and was also a performer on the tight-rope. He joined Astley's in 1808, and afterwards became manager. He also appeared at Vauxhall Gardens in 1828-1841 shortly before his death, brought about by his financial losses when Astley's was burnt down. Dickens, in his anonymity, pretends to an age he could not claim, as he was born in 1812, that is later than the events he affects to have known.

3. BERLIN GLOVES. These have already been noted in Scenes VII.

4. NEW CUT. When Dickens was writing, "New" was appropriate, as up to a few years previously the street was part of the Lambeth Lane that ran to Great Charlotte Street. The construction of Waterloo Bridge and its approaches in 1811-17 gave the opportunity for the improvements. It is now called The Cut.

XII—Greenwich Fair

(*Evening Chronicle*, April 16th, 1835)

The date of Good Friday in 1835 was April 17th, and Easter Monday April 20th, so this Sketch, appearing on the Thursday, was written in anticipation of the holiday.

1. GREENWICH FAIR. There were two annual fairs at Greenwich, one at Easter, the other at Whitsuntide. The fair ground was, until 1823, on the site occupied by St. Mary's Church, and afterwards, till the fair was abolished in 1857, in Bridge Street, near the parish church of St. Alphege. The huge crowds attracted to the fair flowed into Greenwich Park, and the noisy proceedings were little less than pandemonium, especially after dark. Dickens's account seems to be, if anything, an understatement. It is unnecessary to particularise as everything that need be said is in this lively Sketch.

2. "LUNGS OF LONDON." In the House of Commons on June 30th, 1808, on a motion to quash a scheme for devoting a part of Hyde Park to private edifices, the Right Hon. William Windham said: ". . . the park would no longer be that source of health and recreation it formerly was. It was a saying of Lord Chatham that the parks were the lungs of London. He (the speaker) could devise no means more effective for the destruction of those lungs than the present plan." (*Hansard.*)

3. HERE'S THE SORT OF GAME, ETC. Dickens thus early shewed that he was a master of the art of patter as used by showmen and street salesmen. Compare this thimble-rigger's invitation with Doctor Marigold's appeal from the tail of his cart, or with the speech of the "half-pedlar half-mountebank" in *Oliver Twist* recommending the virtues of the stain-remover, that terrified Bill Sikes.

4. TWO BOB AND A BENDER. A bender was a sixpenny piece, so called from its thinness. The "clerical gentleman" in the Fleet prison (*Pickwick Papers*) knew the term well.

5. LUCRETIAN EJACULATIONS. Probably a reference to Shakespeare's "Lucrece," in which the lady protested movingly against the importunities of Tarquin.

6. MR. HORNER . . . OF COLOSSEUM NOTORIETY. The Colosseum stood in Regent's Park; it was built by Decimus Burton for Thomas Horner for the exhibition of a panoramic view of London for which the painter, E. T. Parris, obtained permission to make drawings from the top of the dome of St. Paul's. Mr. Horner was ruined by his speculation. The Colosseum was demolished in 1875.

7. OBSERVATORY. The Royal Observatory on its "steep hill" was begun in 1675 from the designs of Wren. In 1947 its work was removed to Hurstmonceaux in Sussex, but the building remains, and the Greenwich meridian is still that from which universal longitude is calculated.

8. MAJESTIC BUILDING. The magnificent Greenwich Hospital, now the Royal Naval College, established in 1664 on the site of the Royal Palace of Placentia.

9. VOICES OF THE BOYS. The choristers in the Naval College Chapel singing in the evening service.

10. REAL SPICE NUTS. Ginger-bread nuts—small round crisp biscuits.

11. PICKLED SALMON. It is interesting that salmon and also oysters, now beyond the reach of all but the well-to-do, were, a century ago, so cheap that the very poorest could regale themselves with those delicacies. Sam Weller observed that " poverty and oysters always seem to go together," and Kit Nubbles, on a salary of £6 a year, was able with his first quarter's wages to treat his mother, little Jacob, Barbara and her mother, to an oyster-supper after the visit to Astley's; and here at Greenwich are saucers of pickled salmon at a penny, including fennel. Even so late as 1880 the stalls in street markets dispensed pickled salmon at 3*d*. a saucer and oysters at 4*d*. and 6*d*. a dozen.

12. WILKS. The italics emphasise the cockney pronunciation of the name of that most indigestible of all shell-fish, whelks. Really, this cockneyism perpetuates the original Early English spelling, wilk; the modern " h " is what grammarians call an " obtrusive."

13. CIGARS, TWO A PENNY. They were made of real tobacco, the duty on which was very low. It may be remembered that the popularity of Pickwick gave a name to the " Penny Pickwick."

14. RICHARDSON'S. John Richardson was born in Marlow workhouse in 1761, and lived for practically the whole of his life in a caravan, even when he was renting an expensive house. He died in 1837 worth £20,000 and was buried at his native place. He called himself " The Penny Showman," but his prices ranged from boxes at 2*s*. a seat to gallery 6*d*. The chief scenes of his activities were Bartholomew and Greenwich Fairs and his principal attraction was " Dr. Faustus, or the Devil will have his Own " besides, of course, the usual exhibits of a popular show. Dickens revelled in the absurdities of melodrama and reverts to the theme with much relish in *Nicholas Nickleby* and in *Great Expectations*. The subject is also dealt with in " The Amusements of the People " in *Household Words*, April, 1830. Melodrama got its adjective " transpontine " (over the [Waterloo] Bridge) as the Victoria Theatre was its recognised headquarters.

15. OFT IN THE STILLY NIGHT. One of Moore's Irish melodies.

16. DOUBLING HIMSELF UP LIKE A BOOT-JACK. A boot-jack was necessary in the days when Jack-boots, Hessians, Wellingtons, and top-boots were worn. It had a long handle at the end of which a short board with a crotch that held the heel of the boot while the wearer pulled his foot from the boot. The short board was hinged so that it could be folded up when not in use.

17. LADIES . . . DANCING IN THE GENTLEMEN'S HATS. A rather indecorous custom that is not entirely obsolete at country fairs. Paper " feathers " also are not unknown.

XII—PRIVATE THEATRES
(*Evening Chronicle*, August 11th, 1835)

1. In the 1830's London contained several small theatres " chiefly used by amateurs " at which " anyone could play . . . if they were ready to pay for the privilege." They housed " societies which were virtually clubs for aspiring amateurs, many of whom became successful members of the profession in after-life." Among the chief of these were the " Little Catherine Street Theatre " known also as the " Royal Pantheon Theatre " and the " King's Cross Theatre," Argyle Street. It is quite probable that Dickens was introduced to such theatres by his fellow clerk, Potter, at Ellis and Blackmore's, when he was a lawyer's clerk. (See *London's Lost Theatres*, by E. Sherson 1925). See footnote to Characters, XI.

2. DUKE OF GLOSTER £2. The figures quoted are nicely graded to the relative importance of the characters in Shakespeare's " Richard the Third," and the whole Sketch is a suitable sequel to the mention of Richardson's Show in the previous chapter.

3. ORF WITH HIS 'ED; SO MUCH FOR BU-U-U-UCKINGHAM. These sentences are not in Shakespeare's original play; they were inserted by Colley Cibber in his adaptation.

4. ONE-TWO-THREE-FOUR—OVER. This mock duel is repeated by Vincent Crummles's boys in *Nicholas Nickleby* (Chapter XXII).

5. SADLER'S WELLS. In Islington. Originally a wooden Music House belonging to Thomas Sadler, close to which a medicinal spring was discovered in 1688. This was succeeded by a brick-built theatre in 1765 devoted to equestrianism and melodrama. This was finally pulled down and in 1931 the present theatre was opened.

6. PORTRAITS OF COUNT D'ORSAY. Dickens was much attracted by and very friendly with D'Orsay and appears to have been fascinated by the faultless way in which that gentleman dressed. (See also Scenes XVIII, note 4.)

7. UNKNOWN BANDIT OF THE INVISIBLE CAVERN. A travesty of the kind of alluring titles given to melodramas.

8. THE RICHARDS. It may be interesting to give the names of the plays in which these favourite characters appeared :

Richard	"King Richard the Third."
Shylock	"Merchant of Venice."
Beverley	"The Gamester," tragedy by E. Moore (1753).
Othello	"Othello."
Young Dornton	"Road to Ruin," by Thos. Holcroft (1792).
Rover	"Wild Oats," by John O'Keefe (1798).
Captain Absolute	"The Rivals," by Sheridan (1775).
Chas. Surface	"The School for Scandal," by Sheridan (1777).

9. STAGE-BOX ON THE O.P. SIDE. O.P. means "opposite prompter."

10. FIRST P.S. WING. That is the first or front wing on the prompt side of the stage (on the right-hand looking towards the auditorium).

XIV—Vauxhall Gardens by Day

(*Morning Chronicle* and *Evening Chronicle*, October 26th, 1836)

The last Sketch Dickens wrote for a serial publication.

1. VAUXHALL GARDENS. Originally The New Spring Garden, opened about 1660; it became Vauxhall Gardens in 1728 when its owner was Jonathan Tyers, whose name is perpetuated in Tyers Street. The Gardens lasted till 1859 when they were finally closed; Auckland Street, running diagonally across the area, marks the site of about 12 acres, now covered with streets. The attractiveness of the brilliantly-lit Gardens was, of course, greatest after dark, and it was not till 1836 that the experiment was tried of admitting the public by day; Dickens seized the opportunity to make them the subject of this Sketch.

2. LATE MR. SIMPSON. Mr. C. H. Simpson was the popular Master of Ceremonies for thirty-seven years. He had quite a reputation for his obsequious, almost servile, manner, and appeared quite good-natured and oblivious of any humour of which he was the butt.

3. MR. BLACKMORE. See following note.

4. MADAME SOMEBODY. This was probably Madame Saqui, a lady of muscular and masculine appearance who performed on an inclined tight-rope encircled by Chinese fire :

> "Amid the blaze of meteors seen on high,
> Etherial Saqui seems to tread the sky."

Her performances were succeeded by similar displays by Mr. Blackmore, who afterwards went to White Conduit House, Pentonville, to repeat them there; they were described as "terrific descents."

5. TANCREDI. The opera by Rossini; apart from performances at the Royal Opera the brilliant overture remains a favourite item in the repertory of orchestras and military bands.

6. SUPPER-BOXES. Alcoves or arbours all round the Gardens; some of them were large enough to accommodate ten or twelve people; an idea of their appearance can be gathered from Cruikshank's illustration to Scenes IX.

7. NAME OF AN ENGLISH COUNTY. This was Paul Bedford, a favourite comic vocalist. J. T. Lightwood in *Dickens and Music* gives the titles of no less than four songs, each with numerous verses, dealing with "seven ages."

8. MR. GREEN. Charles Green, balloon manufacturer and aeronaut, born 1785 in Goswell Road, died 1870 at Tufnel Park, Holloway. In 1821 he introduced the use of carburetted hydrogen instead of pure hydrogen for filling balloons, and also invented the "guide rope" that trailed from the car and gave the aeronaut a certain amount of control. In all he made 527 ascents, including one in 1838 that attained a height of 27,146 feet (about five and a quarter miles).

9. SPENCER. A short over-jacket for men or women, named after Earl Spencer (died 1845) who affected it.

10. POCHAYSES. A cockney "concertina" version of post-chaises.

(*To be continued*)

MR. JOHN GARRAWAY'S "PRECIOUS COMEDY"

In the introduction to his *Dickens and the Drama* (1910), Mr. S. J. Adair Fitzgerald refers to a statement in a Melbourne magazine of 1895, about a dramatic piece by one Mr. John Garraway, entitled *Dickens: a Comedy* which has its setting "behind the scenes" at the Manchester Town Hall during a performance by Dickens's amateur dramatic company. Mr. Hesketh Pearson also referred to it in his recent *Life of Dickens*. In doing so he treats us to a number of the "it seems" and "presumablies" in which his book abounds. "*It seems*," we are told, "that Dickens's children talked" about Ellen Ternan in Australia and that this resulted in this comedy a quarter of a century later. Relating that, in this play, Dickens is made to fall in love with Ellen Ternan, Mr. Pearson writes that that lady, "presumably because the author wished to have his play produced, disillusions Dickens, and the incident becomes 'an innocent love episode.' The age was not ripe for the truth." If we may borrow one of Mr. Pearson's convenient words, "presumably" the time is now over-ripe.

By the courtesy of Mr. C. A. McCallum, Chief Librarian of Melbourne, we are able to reproduce the statement, in its entirety, from the *Imperial Revue*. Mr. McCallum, after prolonged search, can find no record that the play was ever performed, or indeed even printed. It will now be realised why Adair Fitzgerald dismisses this hotch-potch as a "precious comedy" unworthy of further consideration.—Editor.

DICKENS

John Garraway, the audacious writer of a play on the loves of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, now comes out with something, if possible, more extraordinary, under the title of *Dickens, A Comedy*.

This work is somewhat of the class of many produced by M. Antoine, at the Théâtre Libre, Paris, without any plot, but just the transcript of an episode, like Antoine's vivid presentation of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien.

Scott, in the Waverley preface, expresses a fear that the events of his novel may be too recent to be romantic, and too far gone to be familiar, a fanciful antithesis, which really does not weigh at all, in fictive writing. Look at how Shakespeare, or Fletcher, staged *Henry VIII*.

Our author's *Dickens* is in one act, and one scene, which is behind the scenes, at the amateur performance given in the Manchester Town Hall, of Wilkie Collins' *Frozen Deep*, as transplanted from the renowned performance at Tavistock House, London, so graphically described by the present Charles Dickens, in the North American Review.

The keynote of Garraway's play, what it is all built round, is a line or two in Dickens' correspondence, where he expresses a wish that the sham life of his amateur theatricals was the real.

This was in a letter to Miss Novello, afterwards Mrs. Cowden-Clarke, who took part, with Dickens, in the performances of Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, and our exuberant dramatist introduces Miss Novello into his play, with a poetic amplification, by Dickens, of the sentiment which, it may be remembered, he signed Bobadil, in an exaggerated, fancy way.

We suppose our author will be forgiven for introducing an innocent love episode, with Miss Ternan, the pretty actress. Blustery Forster is there, of course, but he seems to us rather more like Anthony Trollope, with a cross of Landor, the Boythorn of Bleak House.

Miss Ternan is gracefully sketched, but such airy fairies are hardly found in the exigencies of stage wear and tear, although perhaps she would be a trifle like a mixture of Duse, Desclee and Miss Furtado.

We have Miss Ellaline Terriss in our mind, reading over this part, which might be written up a good deal more, but doubtless Garraway

will stick extra plums in his pudding, in the loving polish of future years—if we are not mixing metaphors.

Incidental characters are not badly put in. Douglas Jerrold is inevitably stagy, in the hands of a playwright short of the first water, and is more like Colley Cibber, in *Masks and Faces*. Besides, Garraway mistakes Jerrold, and ought to have drawn him a crab-apple without, full of sweetness within. As for inventing jokes for him, well, we never realised before Milton's "In the lowest deep a lower deep." No, no, Jerrold couldn't be such a chestnut, and here is the old fault, mistaking rudeness for wit. But you will say, Douglas was not exempt from it. Still, we don't think he would say the London pew-rents had gone up, because of the ladies' puff sleeves. Or if he did, nobody but his enemy would put it in a book.

Miss Ternan plays somewhat of the rôle of Nance Oldfield, or David Garrick, as interpreted by Sothern, Wyndham, and Vezin, in Robertson's, and another version of the French piece called Sullivan, apparently with an idea that Barry belonged to the last century, and so he did, but not Barry Sullivan.

Dickens has to be disillusioned, and Miss Ternan is, we fancy, not too previous, in narrating the history of Berlioz and Miss Smithson. How the musicianly genius fell madly enamoured of Juliet, on the stage, inspiring his Juliet symphony, at the time when Hugo and Dumas received such impetus, from seeing Shakepeare, and Dumas said "I felt like Adam new made. Nevertheless, when Berlioz unluckily got his idol, they were unhappy. Thus he would have been better as the donkey, made to gallop by a bunch of carrots held before his nose by a pole, from the cart.

Mr. Beerbohm Tree could act Dickens exquisitely, and assuredly it would become the most popular character of his repertory, while Rose Ternan—we don't think her name was Rose—is exactly written for Mrs. Tree. Anson could bluff Forster well enough.

Mark Lemon must needs come striding, or waddling on, larding the lean earth, and here is a part which Blakeley, Kemble, or Righton could made a deal of, in various conceptions. There is a fine portrait of Lemon, as Falstaff, drawn by Tenniel, in a back number of the Illustrated London News.

Ambitious actors will have an opportunity, in this piece, of impersonating Macready, Thackeray(!), Bulwer, Leech, Phiz, Bob Romer, and Mr. Bradbury, the publisher, though they are terribly lay-figurish, and only feeders to Dickens, as the Panjandrum.

"I vanish from these garish lights for evermore", is a fitting end of the play. The last speech, however, is not half good enough, and requires such a poet as one can hardly lay hands upon nowadays. Of course Swinburne, fired with the idea, could strike off something fitly, at a heat. As it is, Dickens's own words, all through the piece, are purple patches, arresting notice at once. The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo and one thinks of G. W. M. Reynolds's Pickwick.

However, as Buckle says, the man who strikes out a new Method is worth a thousand and one embroiderers, however dextrous. And, as Ovid's sorrowing Muses said over Phaeton, though he failed to drive Apollo's horses, with the Sun Chariot, yet he merited praise, for having greatly dared.

FROM RECENT BOOKS

By Louis B. Frewer, M.A.
(Bodleian Library)

DAUDET

" Charles Dickens read ' Le Petit Chose ' and was struck by its resemblance to much in his own writing, and for the remainder of his life he showed a benevolent interest in the French author, whom he elected to call his ' little brother in France.' Daudet consistently maintained that when he wrote ' Le Petit Chose ' he had never read a novel by Dickens, yet his contemporaries were immediately struck by its resemblance to the work of the English novelist. In later years, too, they continued to see new resemblances between Daudet's novels and those of Dickens, and would raise the question of specific parallels between the characters portrayed by the two novelists, some going so far as to accuse Daudet of plagiarism. ' Le Petit Chose ' became known as Daudet's ' Copperfield,' and its author was eventually christened the Dickens of France.

" Daudet himself attributed the resemblance between himself and Dickens to the similarity of their early life, the misfortunes and poverty that blighted their childhood, the bitter struggle of their young manhood, which gave to each of them a deep sympathy with human suffering. This understanding of suffering, and in especial the suffering of childhood, is the predominating characteristic alike of ' Le Petit Chose ' and of *David Copperfield*. Daudet's style, too, by its vigour, its swing, by all those attributes that gave it its personal and subjective character, had much of the flavour of Dickens. But most of all the affinity between the two writers was manifest in their transcendent power to arouse emotion, either laughter or tears, or the two blended.

" ' Le Petit Chose ' was, of course, a simple tale with a few characters. Its resemblance to Dickens did not consist in portraying one of those worlds in miniature such as Dickens had loved to paint in a number of his novels. In that respect it is not ' Dickensian ' in the sense in which ' Fromont jeune et Risler aîné,' ' Jack ' and ' Le Nabab ' were to be styled Dickensian. Nevertheless, the Daudet who had written ' Le Petit Chose ' in 1866-7 looked at life with more faith and ultimate optimism—that is to say, in a manner more like Dickens—than did the Daudet who wrote the novels of the seventies. For that reason ' Le Petit Chose ' may be said to have more essential kinship with the novels of Dickens than has any later work of Daudet.

" The novel (' Fromont ') was compared, of course, as ' Le Petit Chose ' had been compared, to the work of Dickens, and there is much in its style and in its portrayal of humble homes to support the comparison. But of the more apparently Dickensian characters, the seedy old actor Delobelle had his prototypes in the theatrical world which so much interested Daudet, and the portrait of Désirée was already drawn before her creator had heard of Jenny Wren. It may be noted, however, that since writing ' Le Petit Chose,' Daudet had begun to read Dickens in translation, and perhaps the mental and spiritual affinity between the two writers was such that at this period he became unconsciously impregnated with Dickens's style and manner of characterisation.

" Certainly Daudet was weary of those other critics who saw in each new novel by him fresh parallels to the style and characterisation of Dickens."—" Alphonse Daudet ", by G. V. Dobie. (Nelson.)

* * * * *

SUFFOLK

" The Suffolk punch is a fine animal, as Dickens knew when he made William the coachman say to David Copperfield, ' And the Punches ! There's cattle ! A Suffolk Punch, when he's a good 'un, is worth his weight in gold.'

" Dickens knew Sudbury, which claims the distinction of being the Eatanswill of *Pickwick Papers* . . . The ' Town Arms ' where the Blues had their headquarters, no doubt was the ' Rose and Crown,' burnt down in 1922. The Buffs had their headquarters at the ' Peacock,' which was probably the ' Swan.'

" Dickens himself stayed at the ' Great White Horse,' Ipswich, for two or three weeks in 1835, and on at least three subsequent occasions, so that the

house cannot have been so uninviting as the description in *Pickwick Papers* would lead us to suppose.

"Dickens was on a visit to Somerleyton Hall when he saw the name of this village on a signpost. It had almost exactly the sound he required. He repeated it to himself several times, and in doing so an *r* crept in. With that the name was perfect, so when he wrote *David Copperfield* the village of Blundeston became the village of Blunderstone."—"Suffolk," by W. Addison. (Hale.)

* * * * *

THE FILM

"Dickens and, after him, Barrie, overran Hollywood. *David Copperfield* (1934), *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1934), *Great Expectations* (1935), *The Little Minister* (1934), *What Every Woman Knows* (1935), and *Quality Street* (1937) transported audiences out of harsh America into England—not the England of documentary films, but England as upper-class Americans wanted to believe it still existed, a right, tight land, a *cosy* land where all's warm and happy and Mother Britannia knows best.

"Lean's *Great Expectations* (1946) was a handsome version of Dickens, except that it blurred and minimised the most meaningful protagonist, Magwitch. It revealed Loan, however, as a brilliant technician, sensitive and serious about cinema, probably the most skilful of all the young British directors, obviously waiting for real material of contemporary importance to come into his hands. It is disappointing that his next picture is again from Dickens, *Oliver Twist*."—"The Film till Now," by Paul Rotha. (Vision.)

* * * * *

PROUST

"He was a great reader of the 'Arabian Nights' and, in translation, of Dickens, Thomas Hardy, Stevenson and George Eliot.

"The comic writer's favourite method is imitation. Dickens, when he wants to hold the barristers of his day up to ridicule, introduces into *Pickwick* a prosecuting Counsel's speech which is *almost* genuine, but sufficiently distorted to underline the point of the mockery. Proust was a perfect imitator.

"Another method common to Proust and Dickens, which partially confirms Bergson's theory of the significance of the comic, is that by which amusing effects are produced from the mechanical aspects of the human creature, or from his occasional resemblance to members of the animal, vegetable or mineral worlds."—"The Quest for Proust," by André Maurois, translated by G. Hopkins. (Cape.)

* * * * *

U.S.A.

"That same year (1868) New York's leading editors and writers banded together to give a public banquet to honor Charles Dickens, who had just arrived in triumph as the English-speaking world's most renowned author. In casting about for the man who could most appropriately preside over the festivity at Delmonico's, they turned first to William Cullen Bryant, whose four decades on the *Evening Post* made him the city's senior editor, and who, besides, had served as host to Dickens on a visit twenty-six years before. But Bryant, in a huff, refused to serve—reportedly because Dickens had failed to pay him a call. The editors debated a second choice. Greeley? There were objections: rival editors feared that Greeley might insult them from the chair, or that he might abuse any Democrats at the dinner. Moreover, he might object to the serving of wine. Still Greeley's name was approved and on the appointed evening the ageing Dickens entered the banquet hall amid applause and cheers, leaning on the arm of the editor of the 'Tribune.'

"Far from being in a combative mood when he arose to speak, Greeley launched into mellow reminiscence. Going back to 'New Yorker' days thirty years ago, he recalled:

> 'In looking about for matter to fill my literary department I ran against some sketches from a cheap English periodical which I at once transferred to my paper. Those sketches were by a then unknown author who wrote under the name of Boz. So I think I can claim to be the first who introduced Mr. Dickens to this country.'

Raymond, Dana, and the other editors present breathed easier."—"Horace Greeley, Voice of the People," by W. H. Hale. (Harper.)

NAMES

"Some name their children after men they admire. Charles Dickens named each of his seven sons after a literary personage.

"Scott and Dickens have been particularly noted for the apt names they have chosen for their characters . . . Dickens's names are so appropriate because they contain a subtle, half-suggestion of words in our language which are associated with the traits embodied in the characters so named. *Squeers* suggests 'squints' and 'queer'; *Moddle* was weak, bringing to mind 'mollycoddle'; *Phunky* signifies both 'flunky' and 'funk.' Others, like *Blathers* and *Bumble*, are fairly obvious. Many other names used by Dickens seem to be peculiarly appropriate, and essentially subconscious and intangible, though they may not suggest the same words to all persons. We all know Mr. *Micawber*, *Barkis* and *Uriah Heep*. There is a limitation on the suggestiveness of names. What one sees, another doesn't."—"The Story of Our Names," by E. C. Smith. (Harper.)

* * * * *

RUSSIA

"At the same time, Shakespeare has been a great force in Russian literature, our English Sterne, so mighty an influence on Europe, affected the beginnings of Russian literature, and Dickens, in whom Sterne's emotional unrestraint was associated with modern humanitarian ideas, has naturally been also an influential and popular author in Russia . . .

"The novelists, certainly the English novelists, who have most influenced the Russians are—often Scott who influenced the whole European novel—Sterne and Dickens.

". . . in 1889 a special investigation made in Kharkov showed that of foreign authors the most popular were Dickens, H. B. Stowe and Shakespeare."—"The Genius of Europe," by Havelock Ellis. (Williams & Norgate.)

* * * * *

THOMAS GREENWOOD

"Those who were interested had the 'Art Journal,' founded and edited by . . . Samuel Carter Hall . . . Greenwood used to assert—it is not known with what foundation—that Hall was the original of Dickens's Pecksniff. Whether this was so or not, it is significant of Greenwood's summing up of his character.

"The rank and file knew no more of American history than they do to-day. What they had heard of its social state repelled them. Dickens was still a vogue, his unflattering descriptions of American life formed their background. He had later toned down his impressions, but the original was too vivid to become a palimpsest."—"Spade-Work, the Story of Thomas Greenwood," by G. Carlton. (Hutchinson.)

* * * * *

"The many quotations from Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Francis Thompson, and other poets, and his references to them show his love and appreciation. To the 'Correspondent' of 8 July 1909, he contributed a careful study of Tennyson, and in January 1912 in the same review he wrote a vivacious article on Dickens in view of his approaching centenary."—"Henri Bremond," by H. Hogarth. (S.P.C.K.)

* * * * *

"In later years he read aloud to his wife and children, on their own testimony, all of Shakespeare and Scott as well as portions of Milton, Pope, Dickens, and Southey.

"He thought Dickens a good observer because of his 'quick eyes,' 'sunny face,' and 'most genial heart,' and doubtless he envied Dickens all those things.

"He saw neither Thackeray nor Dickens, though he admired them both and would not have minded meeting them if it had been easy to do so."—"Nathaniel Hawthorne," by M. Van Doren. (Methuen.)

* * * * *

"From the time that Wilberforce was attacked for caring about black but not white slaves, or Dickens reported Mr. Weller senior's unfortunate cynicism about that absolute value of exporting moral pocket handkerchiefs to young negroes, or Mrs. Jellyby's neglect of her children for the inhabitants of Borrioboola-Gha, the accusation has been made that all this seething hysterical interest in what was happening a long way off was a diversion, a hypocritical diversion, from duties nearer home.

"It would indeed be interesting, and very difficult, to work out the theological position of . . . for instance, the relationship to Christianity of Charles Dickens, with his bitter hatred of cruelty yet his inability, at least according to Lord Acton, to know anything 'of sin when it is not crime.'"—"The English Inheritance," by G. K. Clark. (S.C.M. Press.)

* * * * *

"It is perhaps of supreme importance in the history of Grocers' Hall Court that it has been identified by G. H. Cunningham, in his 'Handbook on London', as the scene of the first appearance of the famous Sam Weller's almost equally famous father, Tony Weller."—"A Site in Poultry: the Historical Background to the Midland Bank Building," by F. J. Froom. (Watmoughs.)

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

CONGRATULATIONS and good wishes to the following new Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Moxon of Sheffield, Mrs. D. Lee Francis of Guildford, and Mrs. Elizabeth Rickard of Los Angeles. The thanks of the entire Fellowship are tendered to the retiring officers: Miss E. M. Wiles, Mr. A. Pheby, and Miss L. W. White, respectively.

A hearty Fellowship welcome to Britain is extended to Mr. Norman Stouppe of Christchurch, N.Z., to Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Pequegnat of Toronto, and to Mrs. J. Wilson of Brisbane.

OBITUARY

F. A. VAN GELDER

LIVERPOOL Branch regrets to record the passing of Mr. F. A. van Gelder, one of its Founder Members. For very many years Mr. van Gelder was an enthusiastic and prominent member and became in turn Hon. Secretary, and President of the Branch. Of late years failing health prevented his participation in the activities of the Fellowship, but he retained his interest in everything concerning its welfare until his death in his 80th year. I.V.H.

ROBERT STEWART KENNEDY

THE Lytham St. Annes Branch has suffered a grievous loss by the death of Mr. R. Stewart Kennedy, which occurred suddenly on September 1st. Mr. Kennedy was elected Hon. Treasurer when the Branch was founded three years ago, and held office for two years. He then was elected to the Council. He was a valuable member of the Branch, being keenly interested in dramatic work, and he endeared himself to all who knew him. He was connected with the Civil Service for fifty years, for many of which he was at the India Office. He will be mourned by all members of the Lytham St. Annes Branch.

E.G.

STANLEY SUTTON

THE Manchester Branch has suffered a great loss by the death, as the result of an accident, of Mr. Stanley Sutton, ex-President of the Branch, who had been an active member for over thirty years. During almost the whole of this period he had served on the Council, acting as Treasurer from 1921 to 1930. He was twice President of the Branch—in 1931-2 and 1949-50. Mr. Sutton entered fully into all the activities of the Branch. He was a member of the Dramatic Section from its inception and besides playing with deep insight such varied parts as Solomon Daisy, Defarge and Reginald Wilfer, his work as stage-manager was very valuable. He was an earnest student of Dickens, as his papers read to the Branch testify, his wide knowledge of his subject and his sense of humour making his contributions to the programmes always instructive and enjoyable. Also he had a pleasing singing voice and at social functions, besides contributing solos, he often led the company in community singing. Mr. Sutton's interests were not confined to the Dickens Fellowship. He was a member of the Gilbert and Sullivan Society and very dear to his heart was the Hulme Lads' Club for which he had been an ardent worker for many years—in fact, it was in carrying out one of his self-imposed duties for the Club that he met his death. In business Mr. Sutton was a draughtsman to a firm of electrical engineers and the fact that he had faithfully served one firm for forty-six years is sufficient testimony to his conscientious devotion to duty. Mr. Sutton was a most lovable character and he will be greatly missed by a wide circle of friends.

F.R.D.

We also regret to record the death of Miss Cranstoun of Edinburgh.

THE DICKENS HOUSE

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1949.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
The Dickens Fellowship—		
Loan	550 0 0	
Interest Accrued thereon	10 0 0	
	560 0 0	
Add Current Account	210 0 0	
		770 0 0
Sundry Creditors and Accrued Charges		20 6 2
Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift		102 19 9
Walter Dexter Memorial Fund		5049 4 3
Pilgrim Trust—Gift for Windows		250 0 0
Balance—		
As at 31st December, 1948	5404 17 0	
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year to date	96 13 8	
		5308 3 4
		£11500 13 6

ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Freehold Property—		
Nos. 48 and 49 Doughty Street, at Cost		5108 5 2
Furniture and Fittings, at cost, less depreciation at 31st December, 1948	209 19 1	
Additions during the year	26 1 8	
	236 0 9	
Less Depreciation for the year	11 16 0	
		224 4 9
Library and Museum at Cost—		
As at 31st December, 1948	192 11 2	
Additions during the year	6 6 0	
		198 17 2
Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift Investment—		
£188 5*s.* 9*d.* 2½% Consolidated Stock, at Cost		102 19 9
(Market Value 31st December, 1949, £131 16*s.* 0*d.*)		
Walter Dexter Memorial Fund Investments—		
£1792 14*s.* 0*d.* 3½% Commonwealth of Australia Stock	2000 0 0	
£1,000 2½% Defence Bonds	1000 0 0	
£486 16*s.* 4*d.* British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968/73	500 0 0	
(Market Value 31st December, 1949, £3,247 8*s.* 7*d.*)		
Post Office Savings Bank Deposit Account	521 0 8	
		4021 0 8
Payments in Advance		46 9 1
Stock of Pictures, Postcards, etc.—		
Certified by the Hon. Secretary		33 0 1
The Dickensian—Current Account		42 0 4
Balance at Bankers and Cash in Hand		1723 16 6
		£11500 13 6

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens House and certify it to be in accordance therewith. We have also verified the Investments.

4b Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, London, E.C.2.
27*th June*, 1950.

(*Signed*) WHINNEY, SMITH & WHINNEY,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1949.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Sundry Creditors		2 7 0
Life Membership Fund—		
As at 31st December, 1948		574 17 6
Special Reserve		833 7 6
Costume Department Fund		188 6 8
Advertising Fund		66 16 0
Jubilee Fund		67 1 10
Walter Dexter Memorial Fund—		
As at 31st December, 1948	1 12 11	
Profit on sale of Badges	5 6 0	
		6 18 11
Unexpired Balance of Receipts for Charitable Purposes		183 12 0
Income and Expenditure Account—		
Balance at 31st December, 1948	831 14 1	
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for the Year	94 9 8	
	926 3 9	
Less Loss on *The Dickensian*	40 13 4	
		885 10 5
		£2808 17 10

ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Life Membership Fund Investment, at cost—		
£549 16*s.* 1*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock		574 17 3
(Market Value 31st December, 1949, £555 6*s.* 1*d.*)		
Investment of Special Donation, at cost—		
£118 5*s.* 10*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock		105 0 0
(Market Value 31st December, 1949, £119 9*s.* 6*d.*)		
Library, Pictures and Furniture (including items loaned to Dickens House, Museum and Library)—		
As at 31st December, 1949	21 7 9	
Less Depreciation at 10% per annum	2 2 9	
		19 5 0
The Tyrrell Collection of Photographic Negatives, at cost		75 0 0
Costume Department—		
Costumes at Nominal Value	100 0 0	
Cash in Hands of Assistant Secretary	88 6 8	
		188 6 8
The Dickens House—		
Loan Account	550 0 0	
Add Interest accrued thereon	10 0 0	
Current Account	210 0 0	
		770 0 0
The Dickensian—		
Current Account	175 16 2	
Less Loss for the year	40 13 4	
		135 2 10
Stock of Badges on Hand		8 12 4
Amounts paid in Advance		32 9 6
Balance at Bankers	907 8 2	
Less Petty Cash overdrawn	7 3 11	
		900 4 3
		£2808 17 10

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens Fellowship and certify the same to be in accordance therewith.
We have also verified the Investments.

4b Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, London, E.C.2
27*th June* 1950.

(*Signed*) WHINNEY, SMITH & WHINNEY,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

The Dickens Fellowship

LONDON MEETINGS

Dec. 11—CHRISTMAS PARTY. Conway Hall. 6-30 for 7-0 p.m.
18—"DICKENS'S VIEW OF LIFE." Lecture by Rev. McEwan Lawson.
Jan. 16—"SKETCHES BY BOZ." Lecture by Mr. R. J. Cruikshank.
Feb. 4—ANNUAL DICKENS SERVICE. Southwark Cathedral, 6-30 p.m. Preacher: Rev. Geo. A. Parkinson. Note change of date.
7—BIRTHDAY COMMEMORATION DINNER. Dorchester Hotel.
16—"THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851." Lantern lecture by Mr. C. H. Gibbs-Smith.

All meetings, unless otherwise stated, will be held at the Swedenborg Hall, 20-22 Bloomsbury Way, W.C.1, at 7 p.m.

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WORCESTER (Mass.) (No. 119).—Mrs. DONALDSON JORDAN, 171 Woodland Street.

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